

IN AEDIBVS ALDI



THE LEGACY OF ALDUS



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IN
AEDIBVS
ALDI



IN
The Legacy of
AEDIBVS

Aldus Manutius

ALDI

and His Press

Paul J. Angerhofer
Mary Ann Addy Maxwell
Robert L. Maxwell

with binding descriptions by
Pamela Barrios

Friends of the Harold B. Lee Library
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah
1995

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Cover design includes an initial and a dolphin and anchor motif from the 1499 Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

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PREFACE

In aedibus Aldi—Aldus & Co. This formula, used in so many of the books printed by the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius, and in modified form in those of his successors, became synonymous with elegance and quality in sixteenth-century book production. In celebration of the first publication of the Aldine Press exactly five hundred years ago a selection of the Harold B. Lee Library's Aldine holdings is being displayed between March and July of 1995. Intended to complement the exhibit, this catalog will also serve as a precursor to a comprehensive catalog of the entire collection, to be produced over the next several years.

Brigham Young University's Harold B. Lee Library began earnestly collecting books produced by the Aldine Press with the acquisition of the Marco Heidner collection. This collection of approximately 500 incunabula and sixteenth-century books was acquired in 1966 to support the strong interest of the university and that of its sponsoring institution, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in the period of the Protestant Reformation and the Renaissance, and became the foundation of the library's fine collection of early printed books.

Of the 142 books issued by the Aldine Press before the death of its founder in 1515 (Rostenberg and Stern [1977], 4), the Brigham Young University Library currently holds nearly eighty—more than half the total—including sixteen incunabula (books published before 1501). The library also owns 423 titles produced under the supervision of Aldus's successors (first his partner and father-in-law Andrea Torresani, later his son Paulus, and finally his grandson and namesake Aldus the Younger). This gives a total of just over 500 of the 1120 separate Aldine editions printed between 1495 and 1597 listed by Renouard.¹ In addition, the library has collected books published by the press's agents in Paris, a selection of the "Lyon forgeries" (unauthorized

reproductions of Aldine publications produced in Lyon, France, during the lifetime of Aldus the Elder), as well as a fair number of other sixteenth-century imitations. This represents one of the finest collections of Aldine and related books in North America.²

Rather than follow the usual chronological arrangement, this catalog and the exhibit are arranged thematically. First a few of the more noteworthy books produced by the press are highlighted; then books outlining the development of Aldus the Elder's program to promote Greek and Latin classics, the press's publication of contemporary humanist authors, the work of the press under Paulus as official printer to the Roman Catholic Church, the writings of the three Manutii as published by their own press, and finally a selection of books connected by Aldine interest in New World exploration.

Each article contains a reproduction of the printed portion of the title page of the book discussed, a transcription of its colophon, collation statements, and a description of the binding. The binding descriptions include the basic elements of each binding, whenever these are clearly visible. Decorative tooling is only briefly described. Articles are headed by a shortened, uniform version of the title of the work discussed, which is also used throughout the catalog. Citations and references are keyed to the bibliography found before the checklist at the end of the catalog. Each article is concluded by a list of references to bibliographies in which the work may be found and to other discussions of the work not already cited in the article itself. All translations are by the authors unless otherwise noted. Initials and decorative material on the cover and throughout the text are from the 1499 *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (NO. 3); tailpieces are from the 1592 Vulgate Bible (NO. 53). Title pages of NOS. 5, 10, and 12 are missing from the BYU copy. These are transcribed from UCLA, 32, 27, and 801.

INTRODUCTION



he invention of movable type in the mid-fifteenth century and the subsequent development of printing amounted to a vast change in western European thought and habits comparable to that wrought

by the information revolution of our own day. Suddenly it became possible to transmit ideas quickly, relatively cheaply, reliably, and in mass form to a widespread audience. Aldus Manutius and his heirs, although not originators of that change, rode the crest of the wave and decisively influenced not only the subsequent course of printing itself, but the general course of ideas in their time. It has been said that their publications “bear witness to the unrivaled position of the Aldine family as the greatest publishing dynasty of all times, whose press made the past serve the present and enrich the future” (Rostenberg and Stern [1977a], 6). What is more certain, perhaps, is that the contributions of Aldus the Elder to typography and the design of books went hand in hand with his humanist agenda, an agenda passed on to his heirs. The agency of the Manutii filtered philosophy, science, diplomacy, medicine, art, history, and literature through a humanist sieve, buttressed and guaranteed by commercial successes and scholarly reputations. In a very real sense, Aldus and his successors, along with a few other select printers, determined what the intellectuals of their time would read; thus, their impact on Renaissance thought was extraordinary.

Humanism, it must be remembered, was born and came to maturity without the aid of printing presses. There was no intrinsic connection between the new craft and humanism *per se*. What humanism did create, as its influence spread, was a high demand for certain kinds of texts—not only those by ancient authors, but instructional books that would help the student learn Greek or Latin as the ancients wrote it, as well as books by contemporary authors, whether scholarly, popular, or polemical. The thirst for classical texts had generated the hot pursuit of new manuscripts and the production of commentaries to assist in reading them. “Monasteries up and down the land were ransacked and many precious manuscripts

were recovered from holes and dark corners where they had lain, worm-eaten and neglected, covered with the dust of centuries. Every discovery of a new work, miraculously preserved, was hailed with enthusiasm” (Robertson, 61). This demand had been created and maintained at a high level long before Aldus Manutius chose to become a printer. Indeed, Aldus was in the ideal position to appreciate the ever-increasing need for texts of humanist teachers, pupils, and scholars alike.

Aldus was not only trained as a humanist, but until middle age had supported himself as a private teacher for the wealthy, tutoring students in the humanities. For Aldus, the highest achievement in learning was ancient Greek language and literature. Few things could compare with savoring the wisdom of Plato or the beauty of Homer’s poetry in the original language. As a teacher, he recognized the critical need for good grammars, teaching aids, and affordable high-quality textbooks. Somewhere in his struggles and travels as a private tutor, he struck upon the idea of becoming a printer. To his scholarly and learned friends this must have come as a great shock, for printing was no career for a man of culture. By and large, this had been a disorderly blue-collar trade of tight-fisted, money-scrimping, fiercely competitive craftsmen (Grendler [1984], 13).

Aldus’s dream was to flood the earth with classical Greek and Latin texts, and a central part of that vision was to provide students with the necessary tools to read those texts. What followed in the early years of the press was a series of grammar books, dictionaries, and primary texts for students, especially for students of Greek language and literature. This catalog begins where Aldus himself started, with the early Greek grammars of Theodoros Gazes and Constantine Lascaris (NOS. 1 and 2).

Some have called Aldus Manutius the Henry Ford of Renaissance scholarship, because he made books available to the masses. Before Aldus, and even through the early years at the Aldine Press, the majority of books were quite large and correspondingly expensive. His masterpiece production of the works of Aristotle (NO. 11) solicited unanticipated complaints: it was too

expensive. In 1501 he changed all of that with the publication of Virgil (NO. 5). In this one work Aldus introduced two revolutionary inventions to the printing world: italic type and the octavo format.

A new generation of book reader had come into being who had little taste for the "stately tomes of liturgical books or collected editions of ancient writers and fathers of the Church." The gentlemen of leisure who had imbibed a little of the scholarship of the humanists, and the schoolmasters, lawyers, and doctors who had passed through university courses of the *litterae humaniores*, "wanted books that they could carry about on their walks and travels and read at leisure in front of their fireplaces" and elsewhere (cf. Steinberg, 74 ff.; see also NO. 27).

The "octavo" (the name derives from the fact that the printed sheet is folded in such a way as to produce eight leaves in a gathering) was a book of relatively small size and low cost. Even students could afford to buy Aldus's octavo books, and these smaller-sized volumes could be taken anywhere and read at leisure. Reading great literature was not just for scholars and academicians anymore. Portable books were as much an innovation for the early sixteenth century as the laptop computer is for the twentieth. The popularity of this small book format has never declined.

The second of the innovations associated with the 1501 Virgil is the advent of italic type. Aldus had experimented earlier with different roman typefaces. These original fonts, designed and cut by Francesco Griffo of Bologna, first appeared in Pietro Bembo's *De Aetna* (1495). (See NOS. 6 and 7 for a comparison of the early types. The type in the *Thesaurus* is the same as that used in the 1495 *De Aetna*. Cf. Lemke, 6.) Griffo also designed the font for the *Hypnerotomachia* (NO. 3). These early types have served as models for centuries; such renowned typographers as Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne in the sixteenth century, Grandjon and Van Dyck in the seventeenth, Caslon in the eighteenth and Stanley Morison in the twentieth century all cut typefaces modeled on the early roman fonts of Aldus (Steinberg, 36–37).

Italic type imitated the humanistic cursive hand (it may have been an imitation of the handwriting of Petrarch, which was noted for being thin, sharp, and inclined). This new type was specifically designed to be

comfortable and aesthetically pleasing to those who had come to feel at home with the smooth and gliding humanistic hand (Fletcher, 5). Italic type was smaller, cleaner, and simpler than the gothic. Also called "cursive,"¹ italic slanted slightly to the right and consequently allowed more compact printing. Because this new type was narrow and condensed, and therefore made more economic use of the type area, it was a natural choice for printing small editions of the classics.

LIB. .II.

I am uinctæ uites, iam falcem arbuta reponunt.
I am canit extremos effoetus uinitor antes,
S ollicitanda tamen tellus, puluisq; mouendus,
E tiam maturis metuendus Iuppiter unis.
C ontra, non ulla est oleis cultura, neq; illæ
P rocurnam expectant falcem, rastrosq; tenaces,
C um semel hæserunt aruis, aurasq; tulerunt,
I psa satis tellus cum dente recluditur unuo,
S ufficit humorem, et grauidas cum uomere fruges,
H oc pinguem, et placitam pacinutritor oliuam.
P oma quoq; ut primum truncos sensere ualentes,
E t uires habuere suas, ad sydera raptim
V i propria nituntur, opisq; haud indigæ nostræ,
N ec minus interea factu nemus omne grauescit,
S anguineisq; inculta rubent auiaria bacis.
T ondentur cythisi, tedas sylua alta ministrat,
P ascunturq; ignes nocturni, et lumina fundunt,
E t dubitant homines ferere, atq; impendere curam?
Q uid maiora sequar? salices humilesq; genistæ,
A ut illæ pecori frondem, aut pastoribus umbram

Aldus Manutius, 1501 Virgil. Leaf c1r.

Almost immediately after its introduction, italic type was copied and counterfeited throughout Europe, especially in other parts of Italy and at Lyon, France. Aldus quickly moved to secure what are the first known copyright protections in history. These legal protections were of little use, however, for unauthorized reprints of his editions were quickly pirated by unprincipled rivals. The printers at Lyon alone published no fewer than fifty-nine "Aldines" between 1501 and 1526 (Steinberg, 76). Aldus later wrote: "These fraudulent volumes, printed and sold under my name prejudice friends of letters to my sorrow and discredit. The paper is inferior, and even has a foul

odor; the type characters are defective, and the consonants do not align with the vowels. It is by their imperfections that you may distinguish them” (trans. Orcutt, 65).

Genuine Aldines, on the other hand, were very well edited, aesthetically pleasing and typographically distinct. In fact, despite Aldus’s ability as a scholar and his influence in early sixteenth-century intellectual circles, his lasting fame is more a product of his typographic innovations than his scholarly contributions. Nowhere were his printing innovations more apparent than in his typographic masterpiece, Francesco Colonna’s famous *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (NO. 3). Some consider this work to be the most influential book in the history of printing. Few books from the Renaissance were to be so influential—not so much as a book to be read, but as a book to be appreciated for its layout and illustrative designs and ornaments. Another of Aldus’s illustrated gems is the 1499 *Scriptores astrologici veteres* (NO. 10). This collection of ancient astrological treatises, texts of great importance in antiquity as well as the early Renaissance, is richly illustrated with woodcuts and signs of the zodiac.

After 1502 the publications of the Aldine Press bore the symbol of the anchor and dolphin, Aldus’s printer’s device: the dolphin symbolized speed and the anchor steadiness. This device was often associated with the phrase *festina lente* (“make haste slowly”)—in other words, work at a good pace without sacrificing quality. The use of such a symbol as a printer’s device was another first for Aldus among printers. Following him, most of the printers of the sixteenth century began to use their own symbolic printing devices. The first publication to carry the Aldine device was the 1502 *Poetae Christiani veteres* (NO. 8), a collection of early Christian literary writings.

Aldus also published other important religious texts. Catherine of Siena’s letters (NO. 4) present some of the renowned visions and revelations of one of the great spiritual leaders of her time. Similarly, the *Carmina* of St. Gregory of Nazianzus (NO. 9) allow for theological reflection while concurrently serving as a primer to learn Greek. Before he died, Aldus published works in areas as diverse as the interests of his day. From his press came Greek and Latin classical texts, grammars, reli-

gious writings, contemporary secular writings, popular works, political and scientific writings, history, and geography. This was the age of discovery, both intellectually and geographically. Western Europe was exploding with the knowledge of new peoples, new lands, new cultures, and new ideas. The Aldine Press stood at the center, recapturing the past and recording the present.

In his nearly twenty years as a printer, Aldus labored tirelessly at the press and left to the world a rich legacy of beautiful books and scholarly texts.² These books are still admired for their “attractive typography, clean lines, and good design” as well as their scholarly contributions. Through his publications, Aldus contributed to the survival of many ancient texts and “greatly facilitated the diffusion of the values, enthusiasm, and scholarship” of the Italian Renaissance across the rest of Europe (Grendler [1984], 24). In Aldus was an alliance of printer and scholar, a fruitful combination which established a magnificent and triumphant legacy in the annals of typography. He demonstrated to the printing world that scholarly books could be produced finely as well as profitably; and he convinced the scholarly world of the value of printing (*ibid.*).

From his day to ours, publications that bear the mark of the Aldine Press typify the highest typographic quality and scholarly excellence. Their influence has been timeless. In every age they have been highly sought after, and perhaps never so much as now. As Madeleine Stern pointed out years ago, the Aldine publications, after having weathered the long years, having survived fire and floods, wars and pillage, the hazards of travel, the indifference of owners, and the neglect of time, come alive again in our day. Now, nearly five hundred years later, “they reanimate for us the century that gave them birth. . . . They still reflect directly the happenings and concerns, the problems and preoccupations, the hopes and despairs of their times. . . . They summon up in material form a world that still casts its shadow after its sun has set” (Rostenberg and Stern [1977], 31, 45).

This introductory section of the catalog features a few gems from the rich collections of the Harold B. Lee Library which capture in some degree both the significance and the diversity of the contributions of the Aldine Press during the early years. Of course, the task

of selecting works representative of the press's glory and fame is a difficult one that undoubtedly reflects somewhat subjective and arbitrary criteria. Nevertheless, this section together with the other sections in the catalog will in some degree reflect the contributions, significance, and breadth of the enterprises of the Aldine Press.



I Theodoros Gazes. *Grammatikes*;
De mensibus

Apollonius Dyscolus. *De constructione*

Aelius Herodianus. *De numeris*

In hoc uolumine haec insunt.

**Theodori Introductiæ grāmatices libri quatuor.
Eiusdem de Mensibus opusculum sanequāpulchrum.
Apollonii grāmaticī de constructione libri quatuor.
Herodiani de numeris.**

COLOPHON: Impressum Venetiis in aedibus Aldi Romani
octauo Calendas Ianuarias M.CCCCLXXXV. [1495,
i.e., 1496]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [198] leaves; 32 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: a⁸ b^β-k^α⁸ l^α⁸ 2a⁸ b¹⁰ 2A-HΘ⁸ 2I-2L⁸ 2M⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown sheepskin, sewn on double raised cords, with double front-beaded red/white/green endbands. Green silk page marker. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Blind-tooled with ornaments front and back covers, board edges, and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

The "chief vehicle for the transmission of Greek" during the early sixteenth century was the printed book, especially those printed by Aldus Manutius (Geanakoplos [1962], 297). As Aldus outlined in the famous preface to his 1503 edition of Euripides, his goal was to issue a new edition of one thousand copies each

month. Aldus's Greek books were acclaimed far and wide, enjoying great demand throughout Europe, as is revealed by the orders which he received from nearly every western country. The German humanist Johannes Reuchlin wrote that "without the work of Aldus in providing Greek texts his own endeavors at teaching Greek in Germany would have been fruitless." Beatus Rhenanus, a pupil of Erasmus, noted that Aldus was so effective in "spreading abroad a knowledge of Greek that he was accused by a fellow-Venetian of a lack of patriotism, as students would no longer find it necessary to come to Italy to learn Greek" (ibid., 297-98).

Central to the success Aldus enjoyed in spreading the knowledge of Greek was his printing of Greek grammars and style books. His correspondence with the great scholars of his age (Erasmus, Reuchlin, Bonamico, Vertessy, Latimer, Celtis, Aleandro) reveals repeated requests for these Greek grammars, lexica and style manuals (ibid., 297). Consequently, in 1495 Aldus produced the *Grammatikes* of Theodoros Gazes and the *Erotemata* of Constantine Lascaris (see BYU 1512 and 1557 Aldine reprints), followed by *Thesaurus cornucopiae et horti Adonidis* in 1496, a collection of Greek and Byzantine grammatical treatises (NO. 6). He continued in 1497 with Urbano Bolzanio's *Institutiones Graecae grammatices* (BYU has the 1557 and 1560 Aldine reprints) and Crastoni's *Lexicon* (BYU has both the 1497 original and the 1524 reprint), which, when published earlier, had been the first Greco-Latin dictionary printed in the West. Aldus contributed to the publication of Greek learning aids with a grammar of his own, though it was not published until after his death in 1515 (see BYU copy). Interestingly enough, the most popular printed grammars during the first half of the sixteenth century were not those by the ancient grammarians, but instead those of the Byzantine émigré-scholars, most notably Gazes (ibid., 286).

Theodoros Gazes (1400-ca. 1475), after early studies in Constantinople, came to Italy and there became an instrumental leader in the revival of learning in Italy. He was among the inner circle of humanists surrounding Cardinal Bessarion (see NO. 33). He made important translations from Greek into Latin and composed a number of philosophical works, orations, and letters. Erasmus considered Gazes's grammar to be superior to

those of the other Greek grammarians and had translated the first two books of the *Grammatikes* into Latin (see BYU copies: Basel: J. Froben, 1516; and Louvain: D. Martens, 1518) and used it for his teaching at Cambridge. Gazes's Greek grammar was accepted widely and long used as a standard textbook for learning Greek. Included with the *Grammatikes* is *De mensibus*, also by Gazes, and the treatises *De constructione* and *De numeris* by the two ancient grammarians—and father and son—Apollonius Dyscolus and Herodianus, respectively. The grammarian Priscian paid tribute to Apollonius by calling him “maximus auctor artis grammaticae” (“the foremost author of the grammatical art”). Similarly, “Herodian ranks with his father as one of the greatest, as he is the last, of original Greek grammarians” (Hammond and Scullard 507).

This item is printed in a single column with thirty-one lines per page and woodcut capitals and headpieces. Several of the headpieces and initials are of arabesque design.

The text is printed primarily in Aldus's first greek font. In the preface, however, itself printed in roman, one Greek word has been printed in a non-Aldine font, and another has been inserted by hand in a blank spot left by the compositor. Two lines of Greek in Aldus's first font appear at the bottom of the page; some of this Greek has been corrected by the same hand as the manuscript Greek word in the main text. These changes were probably made in the printshop, possibly by Aldus himself.

REFERENCES: Bateman; BM STC Italian, 293; BM, 5:553; Brunet, 2:1512; Eisenstein, 180; Geanakoplos [1976], 203, 239, 285–287; Goff, G-110; Grässe, 3:38; *GW*, 10562; Hain, 7500; Labowsky, 173–98; Panzer, 3:377, no. 1963; Proctor, 5548; Renouard, 4, no. 2 (“grammaire très estimée des Grecs. Cette édition est fort rare, et la première de ces divers ouvrages”); UCLA, 5.

* * *

2 Constantine Lascaris. *Erotemata*

COLOPHON: [leaf p2v]: Venetiis apud Aldum mense octobri. M.D.XII. [1512]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [294] leaves; 22 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: α – μ^8 ν^4 ξ – π^8 ρ^4 and α – $f^{8/10}$ g^{10} h – $l^{8/10}$ m^8 n^6 x^{10} y^8 z^{10} &⁴ (Greek and Latin signatures interleaved) 2a–2b⁸ chi⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Undyed pigskin over wooden boards, sewn on alternating single and double raised cords. Cloth red/white endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Red sprinkled edges. Metal catchplates on front foredge. Remnants of leather straps on back foredge.. Blind panel with ornaments stamped onto front and back cover. (Panel on front cover showing Christ rising from the tomb, with caption: Ego sum res. et vita. Qui cre. in me non m. Panel on back cover showing Christ on the cross, with caption: Ecce Agnus Dei qui tolit peccata mundi.) Title calligraphed onto spine. Paper label on spine.

IN HOC LIBRO HAEC HABENTVR .

Constantini Lascaris Byzantini de octo partibus orōnis Lib.I.
Eiusdem de Constructione Liber Secundus.
Eiusdem de nomine & uerbo Liber Tertius.
Eiusdem de pronomine in omni Idiōmate loquendi, ac ut poetarū utuntur opusculum.
Hæc omnia habent e regione latinam interpretationem ad uerbum fere propter rudiusculos, ita tamen ut & amoueri, & addi possit pro cuiusq; arbitrio.
Ceberis tabula & græca & latina, opus morale, & utile omnibus, & præcipue adulescentibus.
De literis græcis ac diphthongis & quæadmodū ad nos ueniāt. Abbreviationes, quibus frequentissime græci utuntur.
Oratio Dominica & duplex salutatio ad Beatiss. Virginem.
Symbolum Apostolorum.
Euangelium diui Ioannis Euangelistæ.
Carmina Aurea Pythagoræ.
Phocylidis Poema ad bene, beatèq; uiuendum.
De Idiōmatib. linguarum tres tractatus Ioannis grammatici. Eustathii. Corinthi cum interpretatione latina.
Introductio per breuis ad hebraicam linguam.



L. Kulenkamp.
1774

Constantine Lascaris (1434–1501) was born in Constantinople and later fled from the Turks to Italy. In Milan he taught Greek and tutored Ippolita, the daughter of Francesco Sforza. He was variously employed, spending the last thirty-five years of his life in Messina writing and teaching. For a time he even enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Bessarion. He is noted for teaching Greek to such scholars as Pietro Bembo, Angelo Gabrielli, Umberto Bolzano, Bernardo Ricco and Matteo Caldo. Lascaris is probably best known for his popular Greek grammar, *Erotemata*, which was first published at Milan in 1476 by Demetrius Damilas. This was the first dated book to be printed entirely in Greek. Because of its popularity, this grammar was reprinted frequently and translated into Latin (Geanakoplos [1962], 224).

It should come as no surprise that the first fully Greek printed book to appear in the West was a grammar. The Renaissance was in full bloom, with scholars thirsting for the new knowledge made available with the rediscovery of the Greek classics. Thus, with Constantine Lascaris a new stage began in the resurrection of Hellenic antiquity and in the study of the Greek language. Furthermore, as demand rose for Greek writings it was suddenly seen that profits could be made. Aldus inaugurated his printing enterprises with Lascaris's *Erotemata* in 1495. By then the *Erotemata* had already been published (in 1476) and reprinted (in 1480), and was so famous that Aldus would speak of it as the *divinum opus*. Erasmus concluded that among the Greek grammars that of Theodoros Gazes was the best, while that of Constantine Lascaris ranked next.

Popular as these early editions were, since they were printed entirely in Greek their usefulness was limited. The need for Latin translations quickly became apparent. Geanakoplos points out that the most widely accepted method of teaching Greek in the period was that of providing students with both Latin and Greek versions of a work in order that they might look to the Latin for the unfamiliar Greek words. To assist in this widely utilized method of pedagogy, Aldus took great care to provide Greek texts with Latin translations. In addition to the *Erotemata*, Aldus also published the texts of Musaeus and Philostratus, the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, and Aesop's *Fables*, each in the original

Greek with a Latin translation (NOS. 20, 14, 8, 17). The *Erotemata* has two signature counts, one in greek type and the other in roman. The two series of Greek and parallel Latin translations were printed so that they could be bound following each other, or as with the BYU copy, with the Greek and Latin on opposite pages. Aldus explains in the preface how these interleaved texts can work for the student in the self-instruction of Greek. Greek and Hebrew alphabets follow at the end of the work. On the verso of leaf y4, Aldus complains about the excessive fatigue caused by the printing of this work.

The 1512 *Erotemata* is the third Aldine edition. Aldus's first printed book, it originally appeared in 1495.³ Adams dates the second, updated, edition ca. 1502; Renouard places it after 1507. BYU also has the 1557 reprint.

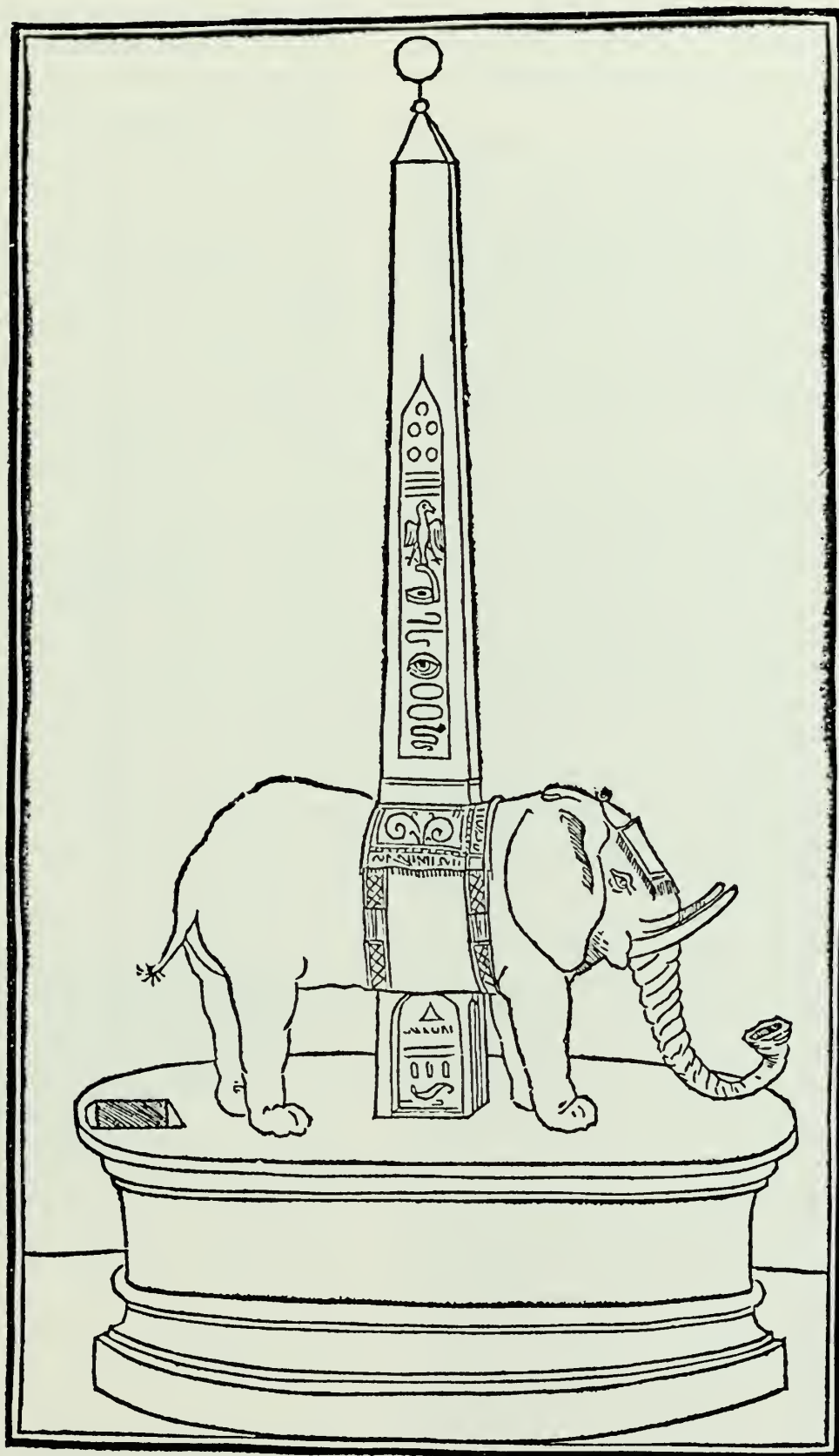
REFERENCES: Adams, L-228; American STC Italian, 2:226; Bietenholz, 2:292–94; BM STC, Italian 370; Brunet, 3:857; Geanakoplos [1962], 224, 286F; Grässe, 4:112 ("cette édition est plus complète que la première Aldine"); Lascaris; Renouard, 58, no. 1; Robertson, 59; UCLA, 90.

* * *

3 Francesco Colonna. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*

HYPNEROTOMACHIA POLIPHILI, VBI HV
MANA OMNIA NON NISISOMNIVM
ESSE DOCET. ATQVE OBITEK
PLVRIMA SCITV SANE
QVAM DIGNA COM
MEMORAT.
* * *
* *
*
CAVTVMEST, NE QVIS IN DOMINIO
ILL. S. V. IMPVNĒ HVNCLI
BRVMQVE AT
IMPRIME
RE.

COLOPHON: Venetiis Mense decembri. M.IID. in aedibus
Aldi Manutii, accuratissime. [1499]



Aldus Manutius, 1499 *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna. Leaf b7v.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [234] leaves; 32 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: pi⁴ a–c⁸ (c1 signed €) d–y⁸ z¹⁰ A–E⁸ F⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red goatskin, sewn on single raised cords, with double front-beaded green/white endbands. Green silk page marker. Marbled endpapers and paste-downs. Gilt edges. Simple gold tooling on front and back covers. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Several leaves tipped in from another copy, replacing pages that had been removed, possibly by censors.

The *Hypnerotomachia* (*The Strife of Love in a Dream*) is a work of the early Italian Renaissance ascribed to Francesco Colonna (ca. 1432–1527), a Dominican friar cloistered in the quiet hill country near Treviso. At the end of the work, Colonna, disguising himself under the name of Poliphilus, notes that the book was written “at Treviso, when Poliphilo languished in the sweet love-fetters of Polia, in the year 1467, on the first day of May.” The author’s true identity is revealed by taking the first letter of each of the thirty-eight chapters in succession, a device often used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The acrostic phrase unveils the author’s concealed name, “Poliam Frater Franciscus Columna peramavit.”⁴

The *Hypnerotomachia* is considered by many to be one of the most beautiful books printed before 1501.⁵ Aldus’s typographical masterpiece, it was his only fully illustrated book. Generally speaking, scholarly books in Latin did not have pictures; on the other hand, books in the vernacular usually did. While the *Hypnerotomachia* is written neither in Latin nor vernacular (its text is a strange hybrid of Colonna’s own devising—a northern Italian dialect interspersed with Latin phrases and Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic words), it is packed with bits of Greek and Roman erudition and “expresses in words and in pictures the frenzied raptures of a pedant” (Goldschmidt, 51).⁶ It has been described as an “obscure medley” of fable, history, antiquities, mathematics, alchemy, architecture, art, and various other matters “highly seasoned with erotic sketches suggested by the prurient imagination of a debauched monk” (Chatto, 218). Nevertheless, the

Hypnerotomachia is a work of profound culture, rich artistic feeling, and vast erudition. The nature of its contents, its multiple meanings, and the sensuousness of its style have attracted cultivated readers in all ages and have exercised considerable influence.

Though written in 1467, this curious work did not find a sponsor until 1499. The sponsor’s name, one which some have suggested as ironically appropriate for such a publication, is Leonardo Crasso of Verona. As explained in the dedicatory preface, Crasso, at his own expense, had Aldus publish it, “lest it should hide longer in oblivion.” Later, in a petition seeking copyright privileges, Crasso lamented that the work had sold few copies, mostly on account of the wars. Although Italy at the time was racked with war, the remainder of this edition must have sold well enough to convince Paulus Manutius to print a second edition in 1545. The later edition used the same woodcuts with a new type.

Reprinted ten times between 1499 and 1833, it clearly continued to attract admirers. However, as Goldschmidt notes, as a romance the *Hypnerotomachia* was practically unreadable; to literary amateurs, its antique language was painful; and its illustrations were offensive to classical taste. Yet, few books from the Renaissance have exercised such a profound and widespread influence—not as a book to read, nor as a book from which to study classical archaeology, but as a volume of designs. The *Hypnerotomachia*’s greatest contribution was to the appearance and decoration of books. Artists, craftsmen, and decorators have used this work as a source for studying antique styles, especially in the countries beyond the Alps, where “an astonishing proportion of all Renaissance ornament and accessory design can clearly be proved to derive from Colonna’s *Poliphilo*” (Goldschmidt, 52).

BYU library also owns the 1545 Aldine edition and the 1904 Methuen facsimile.

PROVENANCE: Bookplate of the Bradley Collection of the Cosmos Club.

REFERENCES: Barolini; BM STC Italian, 530; BM, 5:561; Brunet, 4:778 (“première édition dont les exemplaires bien conservés sont rares . . . les dessins sont attribués à Giovanni Bellino . . . Ouvrage très-singulier”); Fierz-

David; Goff, C-767; Grässe, 5:388; Grendler [1984], 20; *GW*, 7223; Hain, 5501; Hofer; Iversen, 67, 68; Lowry, 118–125; McMurtrie, 208, 263, 351 (“best illustrated book of [the fifteenth] century . . . masterpiece of Venetian book illustration”); Panzer, 5575; Parronchi, 7–12; Proctor, 5574; Renouard, 21, no. 5 (“les deux éditions italiennes, et surtout celle-ci, de 1499, sont des livres rares et d’un haut prix.”); Sowell, 11; Steinberg, 36–37; UCLA, 28.

* * *

4 Catherine of Siena. *Epistole devotissime de Sancta Catharina da Siena*

EPISTOLE DEVOTISSIME DE
SANCTA CATHARINA
DA SIENA.

Sappia ciafcuno nele cui mano uerranno queste Epistole: che effendo state adunate infemi con grandissima diligentia & fatica per spatio di circa uinti anni per il Venerabile seruo di Dio frate Bartholomeo da Alzano da Bergamo del ordine de la obseruantia deli frati Predicatori: & effendo stampate diligentissimamente: & con grande spesa: e stato impetrato da la Ill.^{la} S.^{de} Venetia che in lochi & terre di quella da mo a dieci anni a niuno altro sia licito restamparle o uendere o fare uendere stampate Sotto pena como in lo priuilegio impetrato se contiene.
*

Cath. de. 1499.

COLOPHON: Stampato in la Inclita Cita Venetia in Casa De Aldo Manutio Romano a di xv. Septembrio .M.ccccc. [1500]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [10], ccccxiii, [1] [i.e., 422] leaves; 31 cm. (fol.). Errors in foliation: number cii placed on the verso of ci; clxix and ccxxxii omitted.

SIGNATURES: *¹⁰ a–y⁸ A–G⁸ H¹⁰ I–N⁸ O¹⁰ P–Z⁸ 2A–2F⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Dark blue goatskin, sewn on recessed cords, with single back-beaded dark blue/red endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. False double bands on spine. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, spine, endcaps, and turn-ins. Anchor and dolphin gold-tooled onto the center front and back covers. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Catherine of Siena (1347–1380) was a renowned spiritual leader of the fourteenth century who exercised great religious and political influence, helping restore the pope to Rome and reconciling Florence to the Holy See. She enjoyed wide fame for her visions and revelations, especially her mystical marriage to Christ (1368), an event which was to become a popular theme in early Renaissance paintings. Catherine was canonized in 1461, and in 1939 was named by Pope Pius XII one of Italy’s patron saints.

St. Catherine’s surviving writings consist mainly of letters. These letters (about four hundred in number), most of which were dictated to her disciple Stefano Maconi, were written for people everywhere and offer spiritual consolation. Bartolommeo da Alzano edited the letters for Aldus, working from manuscripts which Aldus had obtained by promising sixty ducats (a considerable sum in its day) as security to an unknown monastery. Lowry notes that in publishing his edition, Aldus “followed a well established trend: texts of the later medieval devotional writers were enjoying a considerable vogue and two partial editions of St. Catherine’s works had already appeared during the 1490’s” (Lowry 125). The Aldine edition, however, was greatly expanded in contrast to those which appeared earlier.

These letters were in the preparation process at the Aldine Press when the contrasting and certainly controversial *Hypnerotomachia* made its debut. When the *Epistole* first appeared some ten months later, Aldus launched the edition with an “ostentatious degree of publicity” and an unusual amount of attention to the dedication. All of this

TRANSIIT AD SPONSVM TRIBVS SEX ORNATA CORONIS



Aldus Manutius, 1500, *Epistole devotissime de Sancta Catharina da Siena*. Leaf *10v.

was very intentional. Aldus was acutely sensitive to the political and religious atmosphere. In the dedication, directed to Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini (who became pope after the death of Alexander VI), Aldus “took care to play upon the hideous vices of the time, and the need for holy writings to act as preachers in converting Christendom to better ways. . . . [Aldus] was making the best of a good chance to display his orthodoxy and moral soundness” (Lowry, 126). Thus, according to Lowry, Aldus used this edition “partly as an atonement” to offset the wake of controversy surrounding the shocking publication of the *Hypnerotomachia*.

The italic type for which Aldus became famous made its formal appearance in the 1501 edition of Virgil’s works. However, the type was “surely not devised in haste with little thought and study. It was probably planned by Aldus and developed by the punch-cutter for at least a year before the printing of the Virgil” (Fletcher, 79). In the well-known woodcut on leaf 10v of St. Catherine’s *Epistole* five words appear in italic; these appear to be rough prototypes of the italic font made famous in the 1501 Virgil.

PROVENANCE: Bookplate of Giorgiodi Veroli. Marco Heidner Collection.

REFERENCES: BM, 5:562; BM STC Italian, 159; Brunet, 1:1662 (“Belle édition en lettres rondes, et dont on trouve difficilement des exempl. bien conservés”); Goff, C–281; Grässe, 2:80; *GW*, 6222; Hain, 4688; Perrins, 145; Proctor, 5575; Renouard, 23, no. 2 (“livre très recherché en Italie est aussi rare que les précédents . . . et plus peut-être. . . . L’édition, en belles lettres rondes, est de la plus grande beauté”); Sowell, 12; UCLA, 29.

* * *

5 Virgil. *Works*

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TITLE PAGE: Vergilius. [title page not present in BYU copy; cf. UCLA, 32]

COLOPHON: Venetiis ex aedibus Aldi Romani mense Aprili. M. DI. [1501]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [228] leaves; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: a–b⁸ (–a–b) c–g⁸ A–Y⁴. [BYU copy missing first two quires, including title page]

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum over pasteboards, sewn on single raised cords, with single back-beaded natural endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Red edges. Title calligraphed onto spine.

The Roman poet Virgil (70–19 B.C.) was born near Mantua, in Cisalpine Gaul. Virgil’s chief works are his *Eclogues*, or *Bucolics* (pastoral poems), *Georgics* (poems glorifying peasant life and duties), and the *Aeneid* (an epic built around the legendary wanderings of Aeneas after the fall of Troy and his settlement in Latium).

Since the time of Cicero, Roman writers and *literati* had striven to produce a national literature which might rival that of the Greeks. Many felt that with Virgil at last a poet had appeared who was capable of equaling them, and from his own day to ours, Virgil’s name has been highly revered. Certainly, in the time of Aldus, there was never any question as to the absolute pre-eminence of Virgil as a Latin poet. In fact, during the Middle Ages the pagan Virgil had been treated not only as the supreme poet, but as an unequaled orator, philosopher, and even prophet and theologian. One of the humanist contributions to the Renaissance was to step away from this allegorical reading of Virgil, regarding him rather as a model of perfect poetic latinity.

Aside from the simplicity and beauty of his language, the veneration of Virgil during the Middle Ages is partly due to the fact that many saw in his fourth *Eclogue* a prophecy of the coming of Christ; other Christian writers held the *Aeneid* to be an allegory of sacred things. During the early sixteenth century aspects of the sacred in Virgil’s poetry, together with the quality of his latinity, continued to attract readers and guaranteed a sure profit for any printing venture.

Aldus Manutius’s 1501 publication of Virgil, however, carries much more significance than simply providing students with yet another edition of the celebrated poet whose works had long since been printed. With the 1501 publication of Virgil, Aldus introduced

two novel inventions: italic type and the octavo format. In one work, he had unleashed a dual revolution which changed forever the world of printing.

Aldus had already made a lasting contribution with the design of his greek fonts; in 1495 he also began experimenting with roman typefaces. He first launched prototypes of the Bembo font; then in 1500, he introduced italic type in an illustration in Catherine of Siena's *Epistole* (see NO. 4). The 1501 Aldine edition of Virgil was the first book to be printed primarily in italic. Praising his own innovation, the printer wrote: "Aldus, who gave types to the Greeks, now gives them to the Latins fashioned by the skilled hands of Franciscus of Bologna."⁷

The compact style of the italic face enabled the printer to compress his subject matter into a smaller number of pages and thus reduce the physical size of the work. During the sixteenth century, it quickly became the fashionable vernacular type for Italian and French books, achieving such popularity that Aldus was soon forced to seek exclusive rights from the Venetian senate, as well as from three different popes, Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X. These legal protections, however, were of little use; Aldus's italic type was freely counterfeited by the Giunti at Florence, the Soncini in Fano, and the Lyon printers. Not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did the popularity of the type begin to wane. Since then, the roman typeface has dominated, and italic type is now chiefly used for emphasis (cf. Steinberg 36–37).

Probably more important than Aldus's type innovations were his experiments with book formats, which led ultimately to his octavo-sized *libri portatiles* ("books to be carried"). With the 1501 edition of Virgil, Aldus began to depart from the tradition of the stately folio and quarto format, and to issue volumes in a small, octavo size. Although he had no doubt read and probably agreed with the sentiments of Callimachus, the third-century B.C. poet associated with the Alexandrian Library, who wrote that "a big book is a big nuisance," the stimulus for a small book actually came from elsewhere. In the preface of the 1514 Virgil (see BYU copy), dedicated to Pietro Bembo, Aldus explains that he first developed the idea of the smaller format after using the small-size manuscript copies of the classics in the library

of Pietro's father, Bernardo. Seeing the utility of the smaller manuscripts, Aldus no doubt contemplated how smaller printed books might likewise be carried in a pocket, be less expensive, and thus more available for everyday use. As he later explained, these smaller books were intended not so much as a pocket-sized book as simply a book that would be "handy." Quite literally, he wrote, the octavos were *in forma enchiridii* ("in the shape of an enchiridion," a manual or handbook) (Fletcher 88). The impact of the innovation of a smaller-sized book proved immediate and revolutionary.

Following the text of the *Aeneid* in the 1501 Virgil are three pages containing a notice from Aldus announcing his new italic type and a justification of his method of orthography and accentuation.

REFERENCES: American STC Italian, 3:390; BM STC Italian, 730; Brunet, 5:1277 ("Premier livre imprimé avec le caractère dit italique, dont les Alde ont fait un si fréquent usage"); Bühler [1950], 207–8; Crous, plate 4; Dibdin, 2:323; Fletcher 77–91; Grässe, 7:334; Grendler [1984], 22; Eisenstein, 691; Kallendorf, 52, no. 40; Mambelli, 44, no. 96 ("edizione aldina estremamente rara"); Panzer, 8:343, no. 42; Renouard 27, no. 3 ("livre extrêmement rare"); Robertson, 63; UCLA, 32.

* * *

6 *Thesaurus cornucopiae*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in domo Aldi Romani summa cura: laboréq[ue] praemagno. Mense Augusto. M. IIII.D. [1496]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [10] 270 leaves; 31 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: *¹⁰ aa–zψ⁸ &ω⁴ AA–DΔ⁸ EE⁶ FZ–GH⁸ HΘ⁶ II⁸ KK⁶ LA⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red goatskin, sewn on single raised cords, with double front-beaded red/yellow/blue endbands. Green silk page marker. Marbled endpapers and paste-downs. Gilt marbled edges. Blind- and gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, board edges, endcaps, spine, and doublure. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Aldus Manutius was deeply interested in language and the intricacies of grammar. The *Thesaurus cornucopiae* is part of his textbook series and comprises a collection of Greek texts designed to help students in their learning of Greek. The works of thirty-four diverse Greek and Byzantine grammarians and texts in various Greek dialects are included. Aldus describes this work as containing “practically everything that anyone could desire in order to achieve perfect knowledge of Greek literature”⁸ (trans. Lemke, 12).

Θ Η Σ Α Υ Ρ Ο Σ.

Κέρσάμαλθίας, καὶ κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος.

Τ Η Ε Σ Α V R V S

Cornucopiae & Horti Adonidis.

ΤΑΔΕ ἔΝΕΣΤΙ ἘΝ ΤΗ ΔΕ Τῇ ΒΙΒΛΩ.

Ἀλίη Διονυσίου περὶ ἀκρίτων ἑημάτων.
Ἐκ τῆς Εὐσεβίου καὶ αἰώνων ἐκλογῆς καὶ στοιχείων.
Σχηματισμοὶ τῶν εἰμὶ καὶ εἰμι ἑημάτων.
Περὶ τῶν καθέζεσθαι σηματικῶν.
Γὰρ τὸ πορεύεσθαι σηματικόν.
Ἐκ τῆς Ἡρωδίου περὶ ἐκβολῆς καὶ μετὰ ἑημάτων.
Ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ περὶ ἀναγωγῆς δισκαλίτων ἑημάτων.
Κοιροβοσκία πρὸς τοὺς ἐν πᾶσι ἑημάσι κατόνας ζήτων περὶ τοῦ
μυιόσηκας.
Ἰσχυρὸς περὶ τὸν ἐφελευστικόν.
Περὶ ἀνομάτων ἑημάτων καὶ στοιχείων.
Ἡρωδίου περὶ ἐκλινομένων ἐγκλιτικῶν ὁ σωεγκλι-
τικῶν μορίων.
Ἐκ τῆς Χοιροβοσκίας περὶ ἐκλινομένων
Ἀννυμῶν περὶ ἐκλινομένων
Ἐκ τῆς Ἰωάννου γραμματικῆς περὶ διαλέκτων.
Εὐσεβίου περὶ τῆς παρ' Ὁμήρου διαλέκτων.
καὶ ἄλλως περὶ διαλέκτων τῶν ἀπὸ κορίνθου περὶ ἐκβολῶν.
Περὶ τῶν εἰς ὃν θηλυτῶν ὀνομάτων.

* *

Originally these grammatical treatises were collected by the Italian Hellenists Varinus Favorinus and Carolus Antenorius, with Angelo Poliziano's help. The edition was revised, added to and edited by Aldus himself, Poliziano, Urbano Bolzanio, and others. Not only was

this work therefore edited by some of the most eminent authorities of the age, but, as Aldus informs us in the preface, an enormous amount of time, energy, and preparation went into it. Perhaps in an attempt to strike a sympathetic chord with his readers or to reassure them of the intrinsic value of the work by way of his personal sacrifice,⁹ Aldus notes “In this seventh year of my self-imposed task, I can truly say—yes, under oath—that I have not, during these long years, had an hour of peaceful rest.”¹⁰

The *Thesaurus* is the first book of the Aldine Press with numbered leaves. The BYU copy is a variant edition: leaf 2B8 is misnumbered 4. Both leaves 2B1 and 2B8 are noticeably lighter than the rest of the work and were thus presumably printed at a later time. It has been surmised that possibly either a shortage was found in the original impression of the sheet containing 2B1 and 2B8, or the originals were accidentally destroyed. When the leaves were reset, the numbering on leaf 2B8 was accidentally altered to 4 from the correct 204, as found in most copies.

Such mistakes greatly concerned Aldus, who later wrote to Pope Leo X that nothing was more troubling to him than to see any faults in his impressions, “every one of which I would gladly, if possible, have redeemed at the price of a gold crown.”¹¹ Nevertheless, Aldus had the utmost confidence in the quality of his productions, for he employed some of the most capable scholars of his time.¹² In spite of occasional typographic and textual errors, Aldus was certain that his “impressions were more perfect and correct than the very originals from which they were printed.”¹³ However, Aldus asks his readers in the preface to the *Thesaurus* that if they should find any minor errors, “Please remember the maxim of Horatian who said: ‘Where there are many merits in a poem, I shall not be offended with a few faults due to lack of care, a common weakness of human nature.’ Be ye therefore fair and most gracious judges of this work of printing, and not ungrateful for our work of love, but understanding and appreciative of our great labors” (trans. Lemke, 14).

The preface to the *Thesaurus cornucopiae* is probably more important than the work itself, for in it Aldus announces to the world his plans to rescue from obscurity classical manuscripts by publishing them, beginning

with Aristotle.¹⁴ Donald Bean, director of the Syracuse University Press, concludes that “the 1496 *Thesaurus* is in my opinion one of the most neglected landmarks in the history of modern letters” (Lemke, 5).

The BYU copy contains correspondence between C. C. Rattey and L. A. Sheppard concerning the variant printing of sheet 2B1 and 8.

REFERENCES: BM, 5:555; Brunet, 5:806; Goff, T-158; Grasse, 7:130; Ham, 15493; Renouard, 9, no. 1 (“belle édition, devenue très rare”); Rostenberg, 109 (“It vanquishes the burners of books for all time and it still gives freely to the world a splendid embodiment of the excellence of scholarship and the beauty of typography”); UCLA, 8.

* * *

7 Theocritus. *Idylls*
Theognis. *Elegies*
Pythagoras. *Carmen aureum*
Oracula Sibyllina
Hesiod. *Works*

COLOPHON: Impressum Venetiis characteribus ac studio
Aldi Manucii Romani cum gratia &c. .M.CCCC.XCV.
Mense februario. [1495, i.e., 1496]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [140] leaves; 32 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: AA-ΔD⁸ EE-ΘG⁶ 2Zζ¹⁰ 2Aa-2Δδ⁸ 2Eε⁶
aa-βb⁸ γc¹⁰ δd-εe⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red goatskin, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded red/white endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, board edges, spine, and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto brown leather label on spine.

According to his preface, Aldus printed this selection of Greek authors in response to a request from his friend Battista Guarino, who needed a text of Hesiod's *Theogony* for his Greek students. Aldus added to this selection other works by Hesiod, the *Idylls* of

Theocritus, as well as numerous other texts, mainly those currently in favor with professors of Greek. It was entirely consistent with Aldus's pedagogical interests that he should print such a selection this early in his career. Most of these texts, including the *Theogony*, are the first editions to be published in Greek.

ΤΑΔΕ ΕΝΕΣΤΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΔΕ ΤΗ ΒΙΒΛΩ.Ι.
Οικείτου εἰδύμια ῥυτίστ' μικρὰ ποιήματα
τρίκοντα.
ῥυτὸ τοῦ Γίγος ἐπεὶ δὲ ρίσειωσ' ἡ μιν κοιλίῃ.
Κάτων θ' ἔωμαις γινώμαι πῶσαι τι καὶ δίστοχοι.
Γινώμαι ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσων.
Περὶ Φθόγου.
Οἰόγηδός μετ' ἑωσὶ σικινώρου γινώμαι ἐλισσακαί.
Γρῶμαι μόνος τοῦ κατὰ λειφάλαια σωτῆρα μέ-
ναι ἐκ διαφορῶν ποιητῶν.
Χρυσᾶ ἔπη τοῦ Πυθαγόρου.
Φωκυλίδου ποίημα περὶ τῶν πικρῶν.
Στίχοι σιβύλλας τῆς ἐρυθραίας περὶ ῥυτὸς κλέος ἡμῶν.
Διαφορὰ Φωτῆος.
Ἡσιόδου θεογονία.
Τὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸς ἡρακλέους.
Τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐργα καὶ ἡμέραι.

Hæc inlunt in hoc libro.
Theocriti Eclogæ triginta.
Genus Theocriti & de inuentione bucolicorum.
Catonis Romani sententiæ paræneticæ distichi.
Sententiæ septem sapientum.
De Inuidia.
Theognidis megarensis siculi sententiæ elegiacæ.
Sententiæ monostichi per Capita ex uariis poetis.
Aurea Carmina Pythagoreæ.
Phocylidæ Poema admonitorium.
Carmina Sibyllæ erythrææ de Christo Iesu domino nro.
Differētia uocis.
Hæciodi Theogonia.
Eiusdem scutum Hercules.
Eiusdem georgicon libri duo.

A.A. 11

Aldus had a difficult time editing a number of the texts because of the miserable state of the available manuscripts. Admitting that some of the Greek is sheer nonsense, he apologizes in the preface by saying, “I wouldn’t dare emend the books myself: such riddles are the work of an Oedipus. But these [manuscripts]

were so mangled and mixed up that even if the author himself were to rise up from the grave he couldn't correct them! But great care has been taken to print the texts from the best exemplar. . . . It's better to have something than nothing."

This publication exists in two states, earlier mistaken for separate editions. In fact, Aldus simply reprinted eighteen pages, probably during the press run. The second state, that of the BYU copy, is recognizable by the inclusion of additional material on leaf ΘG6v (a poem in honor of Adonis) and the differing arrangement of the first stanza of the poem on leaf ZF1r.

REFERENCES: American STC Italian, 5:554; BM STC Italian, 667; BM, 5:554; Brunet, 5:780; Dibdin, 1:363, 2:273; Goff, T-144; Grässe, 7:113; Hain, 15477; Lowry, 114; Proctor, 5549; Renouard, 5, no. 3 ("très rare"); UCLA, 7.

* * *

8 *Poetae Christiani veteres*

COLOPHON: (vol.1, leaf 2y10r): Venetiis apud Aldum. mense Ianuario .M.DI. [1501, i.e., 1502]; preface to vol. 2 dated: Mense Iunio .M.D.II.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 2 v.; 22 cm. (4to).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum with Yapp edges, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded green/white laced-in endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Red edges. Purple paper place tabs along foreedge. Title gold-tooled onto red leather label on spine; title also gold-tooled and calligraphed onto spine, and calligraphed onto foreedge. Volumes 1 and 2 reversed in binding.

The *Poetae Christiani* is a multivolume collection of Christian poets which Aldus originally intended to restrict to Latin authors only; later, however, he decided to add certain Greek Christian poets as well. These Greek authors were included for educational purposes and contained corresponding Latin translations. The volumes described here are the first two in the series; the *Carmina* of Gregory of Nazianzus (NO. 9) form

PRVDENTII POETAE OPERA.

Virtutum cum uitis pugna heroico carmine.
Hymnidium marum rerum, Ad Gallicatum. Ad Matutinū. Antecibum. Post cibum. Ad lucernæ accensionē. Ante somnū.
De ieiuniis. Post ieiuniū. Ad omnes horas. In exequiis defunctorū. In natali die Dñi nostri Iesu christi. In epiphania.
Liber de diuinitate, in quo sunt hymni de trinitate. In infidelis, Contra hæreticos, qui patrem passum affirmant. Contra Sabellianos hæreticos. Cōtra Iudæos. Cōtra Homūcionitas.
De natura animæ. Cōtra Phantasmaticos. De resurrectione.
Liber de origine peccatorum, contra Marcionitas, uersu Heroico.
Tragœdia de passione Romani martyris, uersu Iambico.
Liber de coronis martyrum, in quo sunt, Ode in honorē Himerii, & Cheledonii. In honorem passionis sancti Laurentii. In laudem Eulaliæ. In laudem Vndeiginti martyrum Cæsaris augustæ. In laudem. s. Vincentii. In laudem Fructuosi, Augustini, & Eulogii. In laudem Quirini. De loco ubi Martyres passi. Passio Cassiani. Passio Hippolyti. Passio Apostolorum Petri, & Pauli. Passio Cypriani. Passio Agnetis.
Contra Symmachū libri duo, in quibus deridet Gētiliū Deos.
Tituli historiarum, de ueteri & nouo testamēto per tetraſticha.
Hæc græce, Cantica Ioannis Damasceni in Theogoniam, Epiphaniam. Pētecosten. In diem Dominicū Pascæ. In Ascensionem. In Transfigurationem. In Annuntiationem.
Cosmæ hierosolymitani, Canticum tredecim.
Cantica Marci episcopi Idrontis, in Magnum Sabbatum.
Canticum Theophanis in Annuntionem. Quæ oia habet e regione latinam interpretatatinem.

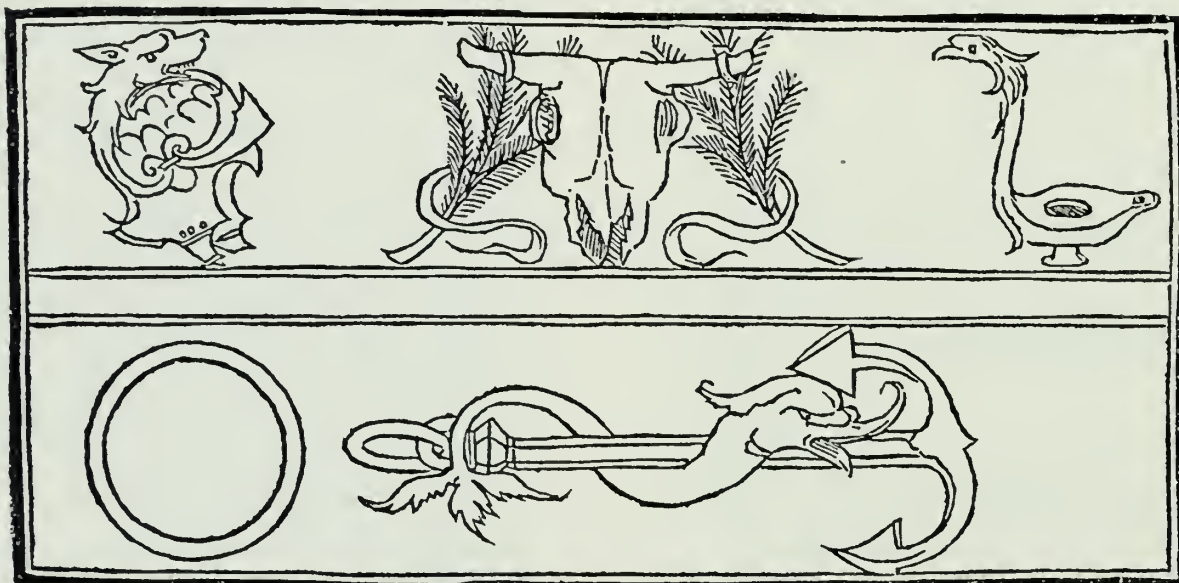
Title page to vol. 1.

QUAE HOC LIBRO CONTINENTVR.

Sedulii mirabilium diuinorū libri quatuor carmine heroico.
Eiusdem Elegia, in qua finis pentametri est similis principio hexametri.
Finis hymnus de Christo ab incarnatione, usq; ad ascensionē.
Iuenci de Euangelica historia libri quatuor.
Aratoris Cardinalis historiarum Apostolicarum libri duo.
Proba Falconæ ceto ex Vergilio de nouo & ueteri testamēto.
Homero centra, hoc est centones ex Homero græce cum interpretatione latina.
Opusculum ad Annuntiationem beatiss. Virginis græce cum latino in medio quaternionum omnium.
Lactantii Firmiani de Resurrectione Elegia.
Eiusdem de passione Domini carmine heroico.
Cyprianus de ligno Crucis uersu Heroico.
Tipherni deprecatoria ad Virginem Elegia.
Oratio ad eandem uersu heroico.
Oratio matutina ad Deum uersu heroico.
Sancti Damasi de laudibus Pauli Apostoli uersus hexametri.
Elegia in Hierusalem.
Ode in natali die Salmatoris.
Indie palmarum.
De passione Domini.
Ad Christum ut perdat Turcas.
Epigramma ad beatiss. Virginem.
Vita. S. Martini episcopi a Seuero Sulpitio proſa oratione.
De miraculis. S. Martini Dialogus, ab eodem.
Detralatione. S. Martini ab eodem.
Vita. S. Nicolai e græco in latinum a Leonardo Iustiniano patriſtino Veneto. 13. Non translata ſantum, ſed, ut ex preſatione conſtat, nouiter ſcripta.

Title page to vol. 2.

PATIENTIA EST ORNAMENTVM CVSTODIA ET PROTECTIO VITAE.



Aldus Manutius, 1499, *Hypnerotomachia*. Leaf d7r.

volume three. These works are not only of great rarity ("collection infiniment rare et précieuse," according to Renouard) but of great literary interest as well. This Christian poet series contains several works published for the first time (*editiones principes*).

Like most in his day, Aldus was impressed with the writings of Prudentius and felt that his works were superior to those of Sedulius and Juvenius. He consequently devoted most of the first volume to the publication of Prudentius, although the series includes other such diverse authors as Prosper of Aquitaine, John of Damascus, Cosmo Hagiopolites, and Theophanes.

The *Poetae Christiani veteres* is of particular interest to bibliographers and historians as the first work in which Aldus used his famous printing device, an anchor with a dolphin entwined around its shaft.¹⁵ Within a few years of its appearance, Erasmus wrote of its growing fame: "In every nation, even outside the limits of any Christian empire, it spreads and wins recognition, it

is held fast and prized in company with books of all kinds in both the ancient languages, by all who are devoted to the cult of liberal studies" (*Adagia* 2.1.1, in *CWE*, 33:9). The device originated, according to Erasmus, from a gift Aldus had received from Pietro Bembo, a silver medal from the era of Vespasian which had the anchor and dolphin on its reverse.

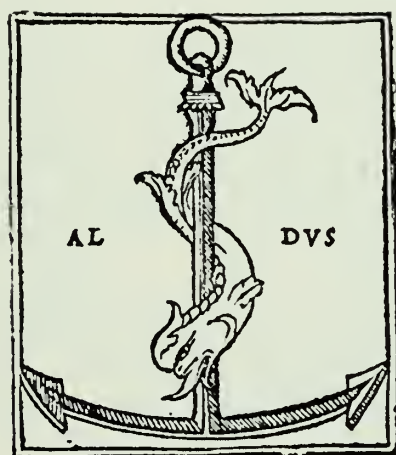


S. Stevenson,
Dictionary of Roman Coins (1899), 399.

Perhaps the coin given by Pietro Bembo to Aldus was such as the one illustrated here. It meets the description offered by Erasmus and bears the inscription: "IMPerator CAESar DIVI VESPasiani Filius DOMITIANus AVGustus Pontifex Maximus." On the back side is inscribed "IMPerator VIII. PP. TR. P. CONsul VIII." S. W. Stevenson notes that the dolphin curled round an anchor was used as a symbol as early as the time of Augustus and was later seen on coins struck by princes of the Flavian family, sons of Vespasian (339). John Melville Jones explains that on Roman coins the combination of dolphin and trident (later anchor) usually referred to Neptune and often to victory at sea (102). At

the time of Aldus, the maritime power of the seaport of Venice was well known and therefore the use of such a device had real significance to an aspiring Venetian printing operation.

Before Aldus ever used the device, he wrote of its elements. In the second dedicatory preface to the *Scriptores astronomici veteres* (1499, NO. 10), addressed to Alberto Pio, Aldus writes, "I am my own witness that I always keep company, as one should do, it is said, with the dolphin and the anchor. For we have produced much without undue haste and we are producing assiduously"¹⁶ (trans. Goldschmidt, 81). Erasmus explains in his *Adagia* the symbolism behind Aldus's use of the



Aldus Manutius,
1502 *Poetae Christiani veteres*. Leaf 8v.

dolphin and anchor and the corresponding association with the phrase *festina lente* ("make haste slowly"); the dolphin symbolizes speed, and the anchor rest, steadiness, and solidity (*Adagia* 2.1.1).

After Aldus had set the example by using the anchor and dolphin as his device and trademark, other printers followed, especially those producing books for the humanists. Aldus's productions marked the first appearance of emblems with mottos on the title pages of Renaissance books. Froben at Basel emulated the use of such a printer's mark in 1516 with his own device of the caduceus (Mercury's staff with two intertwined crowned serpents and a perched dove), symbolizing wisdom and simplicity and recalling the scriptural phrase "wise as serpents and harmless as doves" (Matt.

10:16). Likewise, Geoffroy Tory used his famous mark of the "pot cassé" starting in 1524, a symbol derived from Psalm 31 ("I am like a broken vessel"). As the sixteenth century progressed, the old-fashioned trademarks disappeared and the use of elegant and witty emblems increased (cf. Goldschmidt, 79 ff.).

The great popularity of the symbolic printer's device during the Renaissance is often attributed to two main areas of interest to scholars of the time: the study of classical antiquity (i.e., Roman medals and their reverses) and the hieroglyphs on Egyptian obelisks (ibid.). Both of these areas correspond to different theories behind Aldus's devising and use of his device. As noted, Erasmus claims that Aldus was inspired by an ancient Roman coin; others have theorized that Aldus was influenced by Francesco Colonna's free use of hieroglyphs in the 1499 *Hypnerotomachia* (NO. 3). An elegant prototype of the Aldine anchor does appear in the *Hypnerotomachia*, and on the same page are also found variations in Greek and Latin of the motto *festina lente*.

The BYU copy has the variant on leaf 8 of vol. 2, "Cautum est . . ." rather than "Cum gratia, & priuilegio, ut in caeteris," as found in some editions.

REFERENCES: Adams, P-1685; BM STC Italian, 542; Brunet, 4:756; Christie [1895], 209-11; Eisenstein 280; Fletcher, 7, 43-59, 77-91, 103; Renouard, 24, no. 1 ("Collection infinitement rare et précieuse"); Robertson, 67; Steinberg, 37, 49; Stevenson, 339; UCLA, 31, 46.

* * *

9 Gregory of Nazianzus. *Carmina*

Aldus Romanus omnibus una cum graecis literis, sanctos etiam mores discere cupientibus. S. P. D.

Gregorii episcopi Nazanzeni carmina ad bene, beateque uiuentium utilissima nuper e graeco in latinum ad uerbum fere tralata imprimenda curauimus studiosi adolefcentes, rati non parum emolumenti uobis futurum, si id genus tralationis cum graeco diligenter conferatis, nam & graece simul discetis, & christiane uiuere, quandoquidem summa in illis & doctrina est, & gratia, & sanctis moribus mire instituunt adolefcentes. Id uero ita sit, necne, conferendo cognoscite.
Valete.

COLOPHON: Venetiis ex Aldi Academia mense Iunio. M.
DIIII. [1504]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [234] leaves; 22 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: A–N^{10/8} O⁴ (interleaved with 2A–2N⁸ 2O⁴)
chi² 2chi².

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin over wood, sewn on
double raised thongs, with single front-beaded tan/blue
laced-in worked endbands. Plain endpapers and paste-
downs. Yellow edges. Catchplates on back fore-edge.
Remnants of leather straps on front fore-edge. Blind panel
stamp with ornaments on front and back boards. Blind-
tooled with ornaments on spine and turn-ins. Title
calligraphed onto spine. Remnants of paper label.

Gregory of Nazianzus (A.D. 329–89) is one of the
most important historical and literary figures in early
Christian church. He was “the great rhetorician of his
age,” renowned for his irrefutable genius as a popular
preacher and theologian. Later Byzantine scholars
revered Gregory as the “Christian Demosthenes.” In the
final years of his life, retired to his estate at Arianzum
and, attended to by his serfs, he was able to devote
himself almost exclusively to poetry. Gregory chose
poetry in particular because he wanted to meet heretics
on their own ground. Many of the heretics in his age
popularized their messages in poetic form. To this day
the poetic and hymnal form of theology is still a
common method of instruction among Eastern
Christians. About four hundred of Gregory’s poems still
exist, as well as over 240 letters, composed specifically as
models of good literary style. Gregory’s Greek, though
patterned after Homer, is difficult and often deliberately
obscure (McGuckin, v–xx).

Undoubtedly because of Gregory’s stature as one of
the most eloquent men of his age, Aldus chose him for
publication. His *Carmina* constitute volume three of the
Christian poet series. As with earlier Greek pedagogical
texts published by Aldus, the *Carmina* consist of Greek
and Latin texts interleaved so that the translations are
bound opposite the original text. However, the two
middle leaves of each gathering contain the text of the
Gospel of St. John (chapters one through five, and part

of six) dispersed throughout the entire volume.¹⁷
Whether out of fun, pragmatism, or educational
psychology (offering the incentive and welcome relief of
simple *koine* to the student weary of Gregory’s difficult
Greek), Aldus creates an entertaining “goose-chase” by
instructing the reader at the bottom of each page of
Gospel text to “quaere reliquum in medio sequentis
quaternionis” (“look for the remaining text in the
middle of the following gathering”). This is the first
printing of any part of the New Testament in Greek. In
his note at the end, Aldus explains that the rest of the
Greek New Testament would be printed in an edition
of Nonnus. This was never done.

As described by Renouard, the final two leaves
constituting the index at the end are printed on paper
smaller than the rest of the work. The Aldine anchor is
on the verso of leaf [230].

PROVENANCE: The BYU copy was once owned by the famous
bookseller-printer Robert de Gourmont, the first Parisian
printer of Greek.

REFERENCES: Adams, G–1142; American STC Italian, 2:81;
Brunet, 2:1728; Christie [1895], 209–11; Grässe, 3:146;
Panzer, 8:370, no. 259; Renouard, 46, no. 4; UCLA, 67.

* * *

IO *Scriptores astronomici veteres*
Julius Firmicus Maternus. *Mathesis*
Marcus Manilius. *Astronomicorum libri quinque*
Aratus Solensis. *Vita* (trans. Aldus Manutius);
Fragmentum Phaenomenon (trans. Caesar
Germanicus); *Phaenomena*
Proclus. *Sphaera* (trans. Thomas Linacre)

TRANSCRIPTION OF TITLE PAGE: Iulii Firmici Astronomicorum
libri octo integri, & emendati, ex Scythicis oris ad nos
nuper allati. Marci Manilii astronomicorum libri quinque.
Arati Phaenomena Germanico Caesare interprete cum
commentariis & imaginibus. Arati eiusdem phaenomenon
fragmentum Marco. T.C. interprete. Arati eiusdem
Phaenomena Ruffo Festo Auienio paraphraste. Arati
eiusdem Phaenomena graece Theonis commentaria copio-



Aldus Manutius, 1499 *Scriptores astronomici veteres*. Leaf G2r.

sissima in Arati Phaenomena graece. Procli Diadochi Sphaera graece Procli eiusdem Sphaera, Thoma Linacro Britanno interprete. [title page not present in BYU copy; cf. UCLA, 27/1]

FIRST COLOPHON: (leaf 2k8r): Venetiis in aedibus Aldi Romani mense Iunio .M.ID. (1499)

SECOND COLOPHON: (final leaf): Venetiis cura, & diligentia Aldi Ro. Mense octob. M.ID. (1499)

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [376] leaves: woodcuts; 30 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: *⁶ (-*1) a-g¹⁰ h¹² 2a-2h¹⁰ 2i-2k⁸ A-D¹⁰ E¹² F⁶ G-M¹⁰ N⁶ 2N-S¹⁰ T⁸ (-T8). [BYU copy missing title page and last leaf]

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin, sewn on single raised cords, with double front-beaded green/white/red endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Simple blind tooling on front and back covers and spine. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

The *Scriptores astronomici veteres*, the thirteenth work printed by the Aldine Press, is a collection of astrological treatises. First and foremost of these is the *Mathesis* of Firmicus Maternus (fl. A.D. 334–337), a work with eight books, which takes up almost half of the entire volume. The remainder of the volume consists of works concerning astrology by the minor poets and writers Marcus Manilius, Aratus, and Proclus. The Latin text of Aratus's *Fragmentum* contains woodcuts and diagrams copied and derived for the most part from the 1482 *Poeticon astronomicon* by Hyginus (Venice: Erhardt Ratdolt). Ratdolt's woodcuts had wide circulation among early printed books and served as the model for Aldus's illustrations of the constellations (Bliss, 11).

The *Mathesis* has been described as the most comprehensive ("umfangreichste") handbook on astrology from antiquity (GW, 9981). From its early Babylonian beginnings, astrology had swept the Greco-Roman world. It permeated the sciences, medicine, religion, philosophy, and politics. Even though Christianity opposed astrology, it continued to flourish in the West. During the Renaissance it still had a

considerable hold on Europe: "astrological treatises were thought as important as other classical writings, and were frequently printed" (Thorndike, 415).

Iulii Firmici Materni Iunioris Siculi iuri consularis, ad Maucortium Lollianum mathecoslibrorum octo generalis elenchos.

Firmicæ mathecoslibri primi pinacidion.

Primi libri præfatio.	Cap.	i.
Mathecos aduersa æmuloꝝ argumenta.	cap.	ii.
Obiectorum dissolutio generalis.	cap.	iii.
Argumentorum aduersantium confutatio.	cap.	iiii.
Obiectoꝝ dissolutio particularis.		
Firmicæ mathecoslibri secundi pinacidion.		
Secundi libri præfatio.		
Zodiaci signorum diuisio, ac naturæ conditio.	cap.	i.
Stellarum domicilia nomina, ac prætes in signis.	cap.	ii.
Stellarum altitudo deiectioꝝ, eorūq; conditio.	cap.	iii.
Signorum decani, eorūq; domini.	cap.	iiii.
Signorum pertricenæ partes diuisio.	cap.	v.
Stellarum fines, in unoquoꝝ zodiaci signo.	cap.	vi.
Diurna, uel nocturna stellarum gaudia.	Cap.	vii.
Stellæ ortus, & occasus eorūq; conditio.	Cap.	viii.
Matutinarum, uel pertinarūq; stellarum partes.	Cap.	ix.
Stellarum omnium erraticarum ducatus.	Cap.	x.
Trigonoz domini, eorūq; qualitates.	Cap.	xi.
Signorum natura, formæ qualitatesq;.	Cap.	xii.
Signorū ortus, secundum diuersa climata.	Cap.	xiii.
Signorum uentis subiectiones.	Cap.	xiiii.
Signorum duodecatemoria.	Cap.	xv.
circa horoscopum consideranda.	Cap.	xvi.
cardines eorūq; succedentes.	Cap.	xvii.
Genituræ cardines.	Cap.	xviii.
Quatuor loca secunda.	Cap.	xix.
Pigra, deiecta; figuræ loca.	Cap.	xx.
Locorum figuræ ordines.	Cap.	xxi.
Locorum duodecim potestates.	Cap.	xxii.
Locoꝝ duodecim nomina apotelesmataq;.	cap.	xxiii.
Geniturarum q̄litates, q̄ nobiles sint, quæ uel mediæ.	cap.	xxiiii.
Stellarum aspectus omnes.	cap.	xxv.
Signorum inter se cognatio.	cap.	xxvi.
Super humano corpore signorum dominia.	cap.	xxvii.

Leaf *4r.

The first book of the *Mathesis* comprises an apology for astrology. Later, after Firmicus converted to Christianity, he reversed himself and wrote works attacking pagan practices. The Aldine *Mathesis* was edited by Francesco Niger, who had originally found the manuscript in Hungary. The Aldine edition was the most complete of its day (nearly double the previous

1497 edition by Simone Bevilaqua). Aldus makes reference to the incomplete Bevilaqua 1497 edition in his preface, stating, “[Firmicus] qui uagabatur prius, ualdeque deprauatus erat, ac mutilus et fere dimidius. (“Firmicus, who rambled to begin with, had become extremely corrupted, and mutilated to about half the size of the original [text].”)

Today astrological and magical texts have again become important as scholars recognize their value as historical sources for studying a wide range of public life and human activity in the ancient world. Much is revealed about fourth-century Roman civilization and the empire during the reign of Constantine the Great in books three and four of the *Mathesis*. In depicting a declining civilization, Maternus gives particular attention to the rampant crime, immorality, and deteriorating family life which plagued the later empire (Bliss, 26–28).

According to Renouard, the Greek texts at the end of the *Scriptores astronomici veteres* are absent from many editions. These are all present in the BYU copy.

REFERENCES: BM, 5:560; Eisenstein, 579–80; Goff, F–191; Hain, 14559; Kesten, 130–31; Proctor, 5570; Renouard, 20, no. 3 (“Il est rare, et d’une très belle exécution”); Rose, 46, 53; UCLA, 27/1, 27/2.

* * *

I I Aristotle. *Works*

COLOPHON: to vol.1: Impressum Venetiis dexteritate Aldi Manucii Romani. Calendis nouembris. M.CCCC.LXXXXV. [1495; final vol. printed 1498]
No colophon to vol. 3

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 5 v. (BYU has vols. 1 and 3).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Volume 1: Limp vellum with Yapp edges, sewn on single pigskin thongs, with single front-beaded laced-in yellow/blue endbands. Vellum spine linings visible on front and back flyleaves. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Red edges. Remnants of pigskin ties at the foreedges of the front and back covers. Title calligraphed onto paper label on spine.

Volume 3: Brown quarter calfskin, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded yellow/brown/tan endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Red sprinkled edges. Fake bands on spine. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Εἰς ὄργανον Ἀριστοτέλους.
Ἄνωνυμον.

Ἡ δὲ βίβλος Ἀριστοτέλους λογικῆς παιδείας.
Ὅς γὰρ ἦν ἐκάλισαν σοφίης, εἰδήμονες ἀνδρῶν.
Ἀλλὰ μιν αἰδομένη πνεύλα λαμπρὸν τιτίσκω.
Φῶς γὰρ ἀληθείης παρὲξ ἡ ψεῦδος τιμῆται.

ΣΚΙΠΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΡΤΕΡΟΜΑΧΟΥ.

Γαίης ἐκ μυχάτων, γόν πρὶν ποτε κόσμον ἀγροῦ.
Καὶ μικρὰ δὲ φθαρεῖς, ἤλθην Ἀριστοτέλης.
Τὸν δ᾽ αὖ πρῶτον μὴ παρὰ καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλδὸς ἐφώτισε.
Ὡς βαςίλῃον νῦν, δαιμόνιον τε δεκτικόν.

ἈΛΔΟΥ ΜΑΝΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΑ
ΝΕΟΣ Εἰς φίλους

Μουσάων φίλοι, ἡ δὲ ῥιτῆς, καὶ ἐμῆο φίλ᾽ Ἀλδον.
Χαίρειτ' ἰδοὺ ὑμῖν δῖος Ἀριστοτέλης.
Αὐτίκ' Ἀλεξανδρος, καὶ μμῶνιοι εἰς ἄρκα κείνοισι.
Καί τοι Ἰωάννης ἔσπετ' ἡραγματικός.
Ἐν δὲ ζῶσ' Ἀλδὸς δώσω φίλοι, εἰς ἀφύλαξαι.
Χρυσοῦν τῇ δὲ πολυύμοι μίτον ἡ Λάχσις.

ἘΡΡΩΣΘΕ.

Title page to vol. 1.

The publication of Aristotle (1495–98) was probably the most classical and expensive of the Aldine Press productions, as well as one of the most beautiful (Bliss 19). According to Barolini, it was “a noble endeavor and Aldus’s title to glory. . . . [It] has been called the greatest scholarly and printing achievement of the fifteenth century” (76). Because of its importance, beauty, and value, the Aristotle has been highly treasured by scholars

and collectors alike since its initial printing.¹⁸ This was Aldus's first famous publication and it was an enormous success.

Throughout the Middle Ages the writings of Aristotle had been accessible only in Latin translation; the Renaissance now had the ability to study them in the original Greek. Renaissance humanists strongly believed that in order to be truly understood the ancients must be read in their original language, and Aldus provided this for them (Grendler [1984], 16–18). Aldus combined impeccable scholarship and classical training with technical and artistic capability to resurrect the classical authors for an age ready to receive them. In none of his productions did Aldus demonstrate more skill and editorial ability than in his monumental production of Aristotle. Renouard explains:

To obtain an idea of the difficulties and the boldness of such an enterprise, we must bear in mind the numerous treatises of which the five folio volumes of the works of Aristotle are composed, all at this time unpublished, and of which the different manuscripts were either almost illegible or disfigured by the ignorance of the copyists, often partially mutilated or obliterated and almost presenting different readings. All this mass of writings was in the hands of an editor who could obtain no assistance from any earlier edition, who found himself at every moment delayed by doubts, for the solution of which he had to rely for the most part on his own sagacity and critical scholarship (Renouard, 377, as translated by Christie [1895], 205).

The Aldine edition of Aristotle has received critical acclaim for five hundred years now. In addition to its scholarly and typographic contributions, it is often noted for its prefaces and dedications, which, like those found in so many other Aldine productions, are beautiful and elegant. As Botfield concludes about Aldus from his prefaces, "there is a high and a noble feeling, a self-respect, and simplicity of language about him which is delightful. . . he is a specimen of mental freedom glorious to the Republic which nurtured him" (Botfield, vi). The prefaces reflect not only his culture and learning, but also the constant and cordial dealings which he maintained with the learned men of his age.

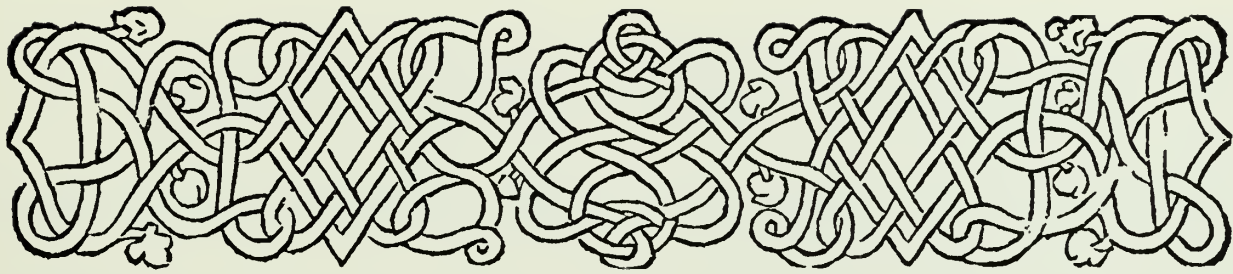
Aldus was a man of vision and ideals, and he used his prefaces to advocate the improvement of society through education (Barolini, 147).

Τῶν ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ βίβλῳ περιεχόμενων ὁμοματὰ καὶ τάξεις·	
Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ζώων ἱστορίας·	βιβλία θ'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ζώων μορίων·	βιβλία 2'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ζώων πορείας·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς·	βιβλία 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ αἰσθητικῆς καὶ αἰσθητικῆς τοῦ	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ μνήμης καὶ τοῦ μνημονεύειν·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἐγρηγρῆσεως·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ἐνυπνίων·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ φθίσεως καὶ ὕπνου μαθητικῆς·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ζώων κινήσεως·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ζώων ἡλικίας·	βιβλία 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ μακροβιότητος καὶ βραχυβιότητος·	βιβλία 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀνὰ πνοῆς·	βιβλία 1'
Εἰς τὴν ἐκδόσιν αὐτοῦ·	βιβλία 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ πνεύματος·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ χρωμάτων·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ φασίαν καὶ μωμήσεως·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ βαρύνσεως καὶ κουσμάτου·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ἐννοφάνους καὶ Ζωώνων καὶ	
Γενεῶν δὲ δόξων·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ἀτόμων γρημμῶν·	βιβλίον 1'
Θεωρεῖσιν περὶ χύμων·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ λίθων·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ κόπων·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ὀσμῶν·	βιβλίον 1'
Τῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ δυνάμεων·	βιβλίον 1'

Title page to vol. 3.

Aldus outlines in the prefaces to his Aristotle volumes his great ambition to promote the study of Greek in the West. By so doing, he hoped to divert men's minds from hostilities and bring peace back to Europe. In the dedication to his former pupil, Alberto Pio, he explains both the value of the study of Greek and the vision of his life's mission:

If formerly it was said that Cato, when old, was seen studying Greek in Rome, so now in our day with us old men do the same. And amongst the youth Greek is



Aldus Manutius, 1495 Aristotle. Leaf Δ6v.

studied equally with Latin. Greek manuscripts, also, are avidly sought, but they are so rare that it is only with the help of God that I hope to remedy this defect by consecrating all my strength and all my resources to aid the friends of letters. And in what an age! When arms are much more handled than books! I shall not rest until I have reaped a rich harvest (trans. Roberston, 67).

Aldus recommends his edition of Aristotle for Alberto's general education and study of Greek ("Est enim instrumentum ad omnes sci[enti]as pernecessarium"—"This is the most necessary tool for all knowledge.") In the dedication to the first volume, Aldus describes the tome as the *primo impressus* of his Greek series and promises, besides the rest of Aristotle, many more of the great classical Greek authors.

Working alongside Aldus in the production of this work was an illustrious group of gifted and learned men, several of whom were refugees from Constantinople. Aldus was legendary for welcoming scholars from the

Byzantine East. Throughout the Aristotle volumes are examples of the Byzantine weave (arabesque) influence in the artwork employed in the headpieces and initials. Byzantium and its successor, Islam, had developed an abundance of lavish and decorative ornamentation which the West could not help admiring. Expanded Mediterranean trade routes, coupled with bursting international commerce, made Asian and Middle Eastern products very familiar, especially in ports like Venice. In many of his Greek editions, Aldus provided headpieces and decorative initials which were patterned after Byzantine manuscripts. For the most part, these arabesque and Byzantine ornaments were linear in style and the common motif was the interlaced knotwork design.

REFERENCES: BM STC Italian, 42; BM, 5:553; Brunet, 1:457 ("bien exécutée"); Goff, A-959; Goldschmidt, 70-71; Grasse, 1:210 ("très rare"); GW, 2340, 2341, 2342; Hain, 1657; Proctor, 5547; Renouard, 7, no. 5; UCLA, 4, 12.



GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

ALDUS'S PROGRAM OF PUBLISHING CLASSICAL AUTHORS



Aldus began his professional career as a teacher, not as a printer, and as such saw a need for the publication of the Greek and Latin classical authors, whose works figured high in the Renaissance humanist agenda. While many of these works—particularly those of Latin authors and translations of those by Greek authors—had been published by the end of the fifteenth century, a large number had not yet seen print. This lack was especially acute in the case of Greek authors, and when Aldus decided to begin a printing business these authors were the ones he emphasized, particularly at first. His development of greek and italic fonts and the octavo format point toward a carefully planned program for the dissemination of the Greek and Latin classics.

Between 1495 and 1501, the period before the introduction of the octavo format, the ratio of Greek to Latin titles in the Aldine output is approximately even; but the Greek books were far more substantial, accounting for 4,212 printed leaves versus 1,807 leaves of Latin. In addition, several of these Latin books were, in Lowry's term, "satellites" to the Greek printing program, including commentaries on and translations of Greek authors (Lowry, 111). The Greek books appear to fit into a coherent pattern, with authors (such as Aristophanes, NO. 13) explicitly chosen as an introduction to the Greek language; and indeed, the first dated books to come off the press were two Greek grammars, followed a year later in 1496 by yet another, and a Greek dictionary in 1497. Of course, the crowning achievement of this period was the publication of Aristotle's works (NO. 11). Latin authors were also published in this first period, but the pattern governing their publication was much less coherent; in addition to the "satellites" to the Greek program, a number of these works appear to have been published as favors to Aldus's friends and editors (cf. *ibid.*

116–17). The exception to this is the publication of the Roman author Lucretius in 1500.

Following the introduction of the octavo format in 1501, the publication program really began to flourish. Works of numerous Greek and Latin authors were published for the first time, and works by others appeared in better editions than had previously been available—all in a more convenient and somewhat less expensive format than the former quarto or folio standard. Some highlights of the Greek publications of the first decade of the sixteenth century are the works of Thucydides (NO. 16), Herodotus (NO. 62), Sophocles (NO. 15), Euripides, and Homer; Latin authors published included Virgil (the book which introduced the italic font in 1501) (NO. 5), Horace (NO. 25), Juvenal and Persius, Martial, Cicero (NOS. 27 and 28), Ovid (NO. 22), Catullus (NO. 23), and Pliny (NO. 24)—in short, the foundation of the Latin classics.

GREEK FONTS

The foundation of Aldus's plan for the dissemination of classical texts through the medium of print was a program of the publication of Greek authors in Greek. Before his time some Greek printing had been done (the first book printed completely in Greek was published in Milan in 1476), but no extensive publication program had been undertaken. One of the basic components of such a program was, obviously, the possession of a good set of greek type, with which Aldus provided himself at the very beginning of his career.

The greek fonts Aldus developed have been the occasion of a great deal of controversy. Robert Proctor, the bibliographical genius from the turn of the century, abominated them:

For the business enterprise and eager scholarship of Aldus no praise could be too high; the ingenuity and resource displayed by him as a printer and the general excellence of his presswork are beyond question; but the new founts of his invention, whether Greek, roman

or italic, are in each case lamentably devoid of beauty of form other than that conferred on them by good cutting, and his overwhelming influence among his contemporaries and successors secured the ultimate disappearance of the older and purer models. . . .

[W]hat is to be said of this much-vaunted type of Aldus? I fear that its resemblance to the writing to which they were accustomed, which endeared it to his contemporaries, does not appeal with equal force to us to-day, nor can we any longer see with the eyes of a Bodonist, to whom everything beautiful was "barbarous" and only the misshapen and ugly were admirable. In truth, in spite of all his estimable qualities, Aldus seems to have been a man of phenomenally bad taste for his time, and unfortunately the blunders which in a lesser man would have been unnoticed, the enormous influence of the books which he produced perpetuated and sanctioned. (Proctor [1900], 93, 102–3)

Proctor's influential opinion carried the day for years after his death in 1903. Thus, in 1927 the typographer Victor Scholderer informs us that

it was reserved for Aldus to accept unmodified the crowding and restless involutions of the vulgar script of the day and reproduce them in the rigidly fixed lines of a metal block—a proceeding running directly counter to the very nature and genius of the printed page. The humanities are deeply indebted to the Hellenic enthusiasm of Aldus and the energy with which he devoted himself to the often unremunerative task of making the Greek originals accessible to scholars, but it has to be recorded against him with regret that his Greek type systematically violates the first principles of type-design and that its success was a disaster from which Greek printing did not recover for generations. . . . By providing books imitating the familiar Greek script of the day, he had given the public what it wanted, with the result that the finer traditions of his predecessors withered at the roots and cursive Greek was in a few decades established as the typographical norm all over Europe. (Scholderer, 7–8)

The regretful, snobbishly upper-class tone of both these scholars is perhaps partly the result of the age in which they lived. It can hardly be said that the readers of

the "vulgar" Greek script described by Scholderer—that public clamoring for misshapen, ugly, and barbarously restless involutions—were actually the "great unwashed" he implies. Then, as now, the study of Greek in the West was confined to academicians and scholars, who were generally members of the upper classes. Indeed, as Proctor indicates, the greek fonts of Aldus were much admired by this very class, who evidently shared his "phenomenally bad taste." For all the difficulty today's readers of Greek—used as they are to simple modern type styles—have with Aldus's fonts and those based on them, it must be admitted at the least that they represent a technical marvel and that they have a certain beauty and calligraphic elegance of their own. And scholarly opinion is beginning to change. Although one of the latest of Aldus's biographers, Martin Lowry, admits that "unless he is a skilled palaeographer or well acquainted with the text he has to hand, the modern reader who attempts to study an Aldine Greek text will soon experience a prickling in the eyes and a woolly sensation behind them" (Lowry, 131), he treats the subject sympathetically. In his recent full-length treatment of these typefaces, Nicolas Barker concludes:

it is clear that the influence of Aldus was vital, not merely in editorial matters but also in the details of the right shape for letters. What, I think, has been *instinctively* clear to lovers of books from the outset needs now to be clearly asserted: namely, that Aldus had a gift for making a compact of all the qualities, intellectual and physical, that make up a book, by giving to each its proper and appropriate degree of attention, so that the whole became an integral sum of perfected parts. . . . [I]n technical terms it is clear that Francesco Griffo [Aldus's engraver] achieved a masterpiece fully equal to the forms he gave to roman and italic type. . . . [A]s a set of printed forms in its own right, the Aldine Greek . . . deserves the place it achieved as the pattern not only of Greek printing type, but of the shape of Greek letters in any medium for years to come. . . . To us, Froben and Estienne represent achievements that we have not yet grown above, that we have still to comprehend, let alone emulate. How much more is this true of Aldus. To know a little more of his work is to realise how much more there is to know. His Greek texts and the types with which they were printed are their own monument. (Barker [1992], 102–3)

EARLY TYPOGRAPHY

To appreciate Aldus's achievement, some understanding is necessary of the processes of early type-making. A number of different craftsmen and laborers were involved. Initially, a model was chosen for a set of letters. Using this model, a punch cutter—often in the early days trained as a goldsmith or silversmith—cut *punches*, steel bars on the end of which the letter was engraved using files and counter punches. Once the punch was completed, it was struck with a hammer onto a thin piece of copper called a *matrix*. The impression left on the copper, a few millimeters deep, was an exact replica of the desired letter. The matrix was then squared and slipped into a *mold*, in which the piece of type would be cast. The mold was locked firmly together and a mixture of molten lead, copper, and antimony poured in. When this had cooled, the piece of type was removed and other pieces were made from the same matrix until the desired number of pieces of that *sort*—all the pieces of type of a single letter form—had been cast. The type caster then changed the matrix and continued casting until the entire *font*, the ensemble of all the sorts for a given type style, had been cast. After casting, the *body* (the part below the image of the letter) of each piece of type was burnished and squared, so that all were of a uniform length. The purpose of this was to assure that no letter was any higher than any other when the type was set up for printing. The pieces were then distributed into a case that had as many boxes as there were sorts.

At this point the font was ready to be used in printing. To create a printed page, a *compositor* set the letters one at a time on a *composing stick*. The stick was exactly as long as the desired length of the line in the final printed page. When the line was filled, the compositor added spaces (cast in the same way as the letters, but without the image of a letter on the end) throughout the line to spread the type until it was tightened firmly against each end of the composing stick, or *justified*. The pieces of type were then placed in a *galley*, a frame where the page was set up. The compositor continued to set lines of type in his composing stick until the entire page had been filled with type. He then tied a cord around the outside of the entire block of type

and carefully moved this block to an iron *chase*. Depending on the format of the book, the chase might contain type for two, four, six, eight, or more pages. The type on the chase was held tightly in place by wooden blocks, called *furniture*, which were wedged around the type on all sides to ensure that it could not move. This completed form was then set on the bed of the press, ready to be inked and rolled into the press for printing on paper.¹

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF GREEK TYPOGRAPHY

Greek printing posed special problems, which is why printing in that language did not really begin until nearly a generation after printing in the roman alphabet was well established. Roman letters, both minuscule and majuscule, were essentially rectangular and thus fit print very well. This was not so with Greek, particularly in the form that was familiar to readers of the fifteenth century. Contemporary Greek hands displayed a fluidity unknown to roman scribes, interweaving letters and creating complicated florid abbreviations. Uniformity, prized in writing the roman alphabet, was not appreciated in Greek hands, so each letter often had several possible forms. But aside from these aesthetic considerations, a second and more difficult technical problem for the typographer is the presence in the written form of Greek of three accents, two breathing marks, and the iota subscript, any of which can appear in almost any combination on nearly any vowel.

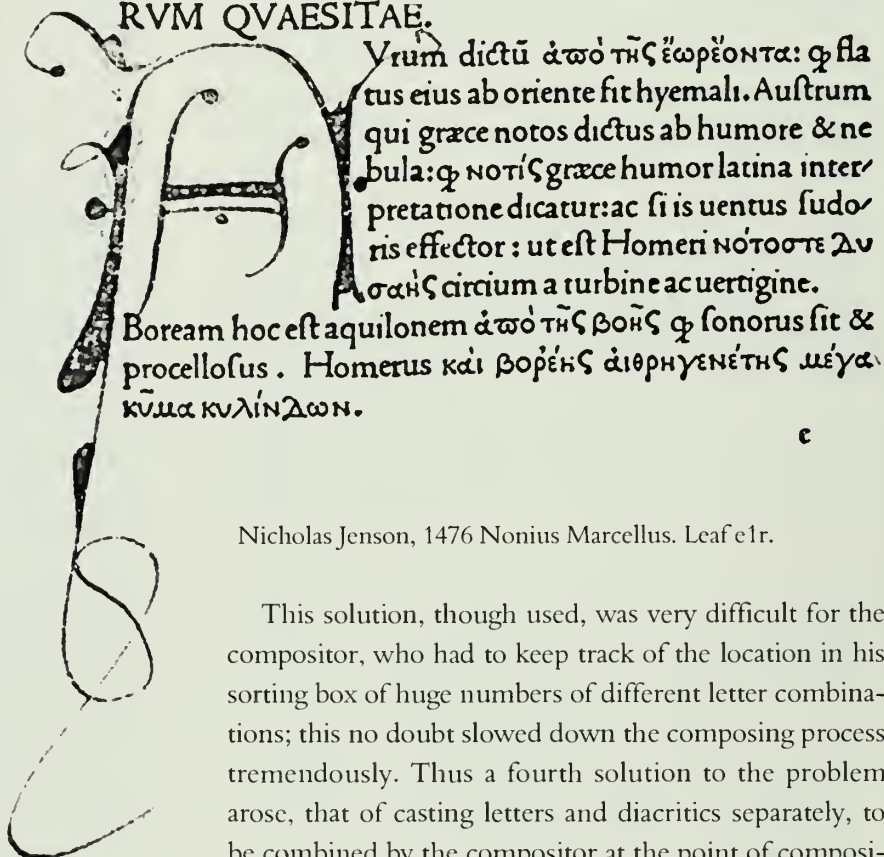
Early printers hit upon a number of solutions to the technical problems of Greek printing, classified by Proctor into four categories (cf. Proctor [1900], 52, 80–81, 122; Barker [1992], 76 ff.). The first was really a nonsolution used by some printers of Latin texts containing short Greek quotations: the compositor simply left a space for the Greek words, which a scribe later filled in with written Greek. This was obviously an unsatisfactory “solution,” since in the first place it completely missed the point of the invention of printing: the ability to mass produce texts, bypassing scribes. In addition, especially for longer quotations, the compositor often miscalculated the amount of space needed, leaving too much or too little.

A second possibility was to cast the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet with no accents or breathing marks and print Greek without any diacritical marks at all. This might have been a viable solution, but Greek-reading customers were unwilling to accept accentless Greek, even though classical Greek had originally been written that way.

A third solution was to cast a separate sort for each possible combination of letter, accent, breathing mark, and iota subscript, plus separate sorts for each possible ligature (combination of letters), including all the possible accent-letter combinations within each ligature, plus separate sorts for each of the desired abbreviations, with which Greek writing of the time abounded. This solution, though used by some printers, created an overwhelming number of sorts—some fonts have been estimated to have had as many as 1400—creating an impossible situation both for the type cutter and the compositor. A variation on this method, relieving the cutter somewhat if not the compositor, was used by Jenson for his elegant greek font (cf. Proctor [1900], 17–18). There are twenty-four possible combinations of accents, breathing marks, and iota subscript for the minuscule vowel alpha alone, α, ᾱ, ᾰ, ᾱ̂, ᾱ̃, ᾱ̄, ᾱ̅, ᾱ̆, ᾱ̇, ᾱ̈, ᾱ̉, ᾱ̊, ᾱ̋, ᾱ̌, ᾱ̍, ᾱ̎, ᾱ̏, ᾱ̐, ᾱ̑, ᾱ̒, ᾱ̓, ᾱ̔, ᾱ̕, ᾱ̖, ᾱ̗, ᾱ̘, ᾱ̙, ᾱ̚, ᾱ̛, ᾱ̜, ᾱ̝, ᾱ̞, ᾱ̟, ᾱ̠, ᾱ̡, ᾱ̢, ᾱ̣, ᾱ̤, ᾱ̥, ᾱ̦, ᾱ̧, ᾱ̨, ᾱ̩, ᾱ̪, ᾱ̫, ᾱ̬, ᾱ̭, ᾱ̮, ᾱ̯, ᾱ̰, ᾱ̱, ᾱ̲, ᾱ̳, ᾱ̴, ᾱ̵, ᾱ̶, ᾱ̷, ᾱ̸, ᾱ̹, ᾱ̺, ᾱ̻, ᾱ̼, ᾱ̽, ᾱ̾, ᾱ̿. The number of pieces of type cast could be reduced to six, however, if only the combinations with the maximum number of diacritical marks were cast, thus: ᾱ̇, ᾱ̈, ᾱ̉, ᾱ̊, ᾱ̋, ᾱ̌. The type caster then shaved off the unwanted part of the letter to create the needed sort. Thus if a simple alpha were wanted, the caster could take any one of the six cast types and shave off the breathing mark, the accent, and the iota subscript. This method can be detected in the final product by the fact that the remaining accents and breathing marks are often not positioned correctly over the letter, and also by the fact that some printers not as careful as Jenson left the type uncut in

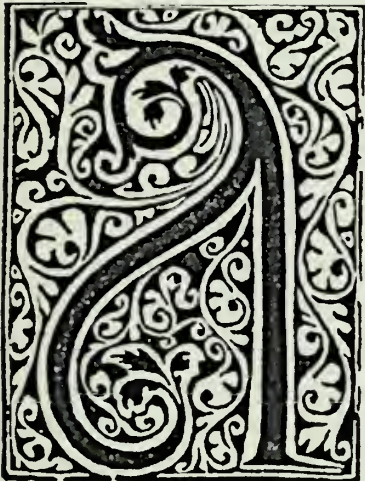
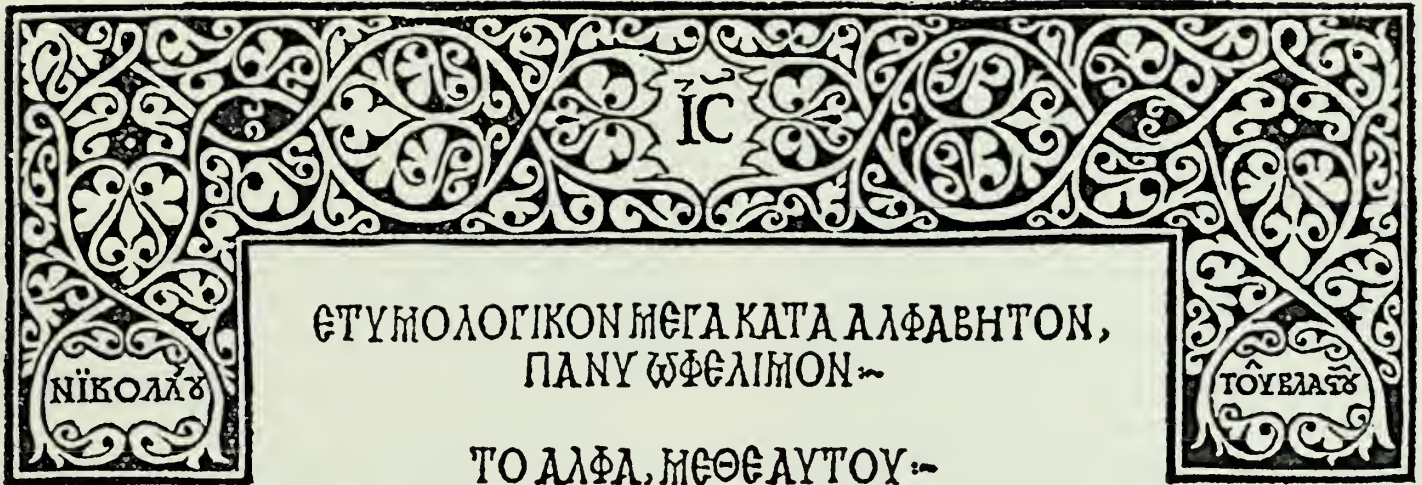
composing the page, giving anomalies such as words with several accents (only one per word is permitted in Greek) or breathing marks in the middle of a word (these normally only appear over an initial vowel).

VENTORVM PROPRIETATES ET NONNVL LARVM DICTIONVM SIGNIFICANTIAE IN TRACTATIBVS NOBILIVM PHILOSOPHO- RVM QVAESITAE.



Nicholas Jenson, 1476 Nonius Marcellus. Leaf e1r.

This solution, though used, was very difficult for the compositor, who had to keep track of the location in his sorting box of huge numbers of different letter combinations; this no doubt slowed down the composing process tremendously. Thus a fourth solution to the problem arose, that of casting letters and diacritics separately, to be combined by the compositor at the point of composition of the page. There were three variations on this method. In the first, the accents and letters were set on separate lines. The compositor, working from the top of the page to the bottom, must have set up the line of accents as best he could, then set up the line of letters; he must then have adjusted the position of the accents on the line above so that they were above the appropriate letter. The main disadvantage to this method was that it wasted a lot of space on the page and was not true to the desired calligraphic effect; in Greek writing, the accents and breathing marks are nestled in with the letters themselves, not floating on a line above the line of writing. Thus a second variation was used in which majuscules and minuscules not requiring accents were cast on a full-sized body, while minuscules requiring accents were cast



Αλφα ῥ' σι χεῖον, ᾧ ῥ' ἄλφω ῥ' εὐρίσκω. πρῶ-
τον γὰρ τῶν ἁπλῶν σι χεῖ-
ων εὐρέθη. καὶ ῥ' ὑκαλῶ
ἀμοιβὰς πολιτεύεσθαι.
ἄλφω γὰρ ῥ' ἀμείβω.

Α α ρ ς, ἀνεύατης. ὅ ἐστι
ἀβλαβής. δίδεται δὲ ῥ' ὁ
χαλεπὸς κύβλαβερός
ἀνυέσθαι. ἰσως καὶ αὐτὸ

ᾧ ῥ' ἄλφω ῥ' εὐρίσκω. οὕτως μεθ' ὁδὸς.
καὶ ῥ' ὑαὶ ῥ' βλάπτω, ἄσφαρς καὶ ἄαρς. Ἀ γ γ
δὴ μοι ὁμῶς ὁ ἀα γ γ σ γ ὁ σ ὕδωρ. καὶ ῥ' ἀβλαβὲς, καὶ πο

ῥ' ὑπὸ τὰ τινοῦ ἄλφω, ἀλφῆς. ῥ' οὐδέτερον, ἀλφῆς.
καὶ ῥ' ἄθρῳσιν καὶ ῥ' ἐρηθῶν, καὶ ῥ' πολὺ θρῳσιν.

ΤΟ ΑΛΦΑ, ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΗΤΑ



βαλ, ἐπιρῥημα. ᾧ ῥ' βάλω. καὶ
ἀφαιρῶν ῥ' ὑλῆς ῥ' ὤ. καὶ μὲν τοῦ
ἐπιταπκοῦ ἄλφω, ἀβαλ. καὶ ἄβελ,
ᾧ ῥ' ἀβάλε ἐπιρῥημα. ὡς ῥ', Ἀβά-
λεσοι σέφανε. ῥ' ὁλολάτρησας.

Α β α ς, κυρίως ὁ μὴ ἔχων βάσιν. καὶ χηστικῶς δὲ, καὶ αὐτῷ
οἷας δὴ ποτε σαγίδος. οὕτως ὠρίων. γίγεται, δὲ ᾧ ῥ' ἄ
ῥ' βῶ ῥ' βαίγω.

Zacharias Kallierges, 1499 *Etymologicum magnum*. Leaf A2r.

on a body two-thirds the full size and accents were cast on a one-third-sized body. The line was then composed by filling in unaccented spaces above vowels with blanks and simply placing the accent above the vowel when required. This was an improvement, but it still did not give the flowing feel of the handwritten Greek that printers were attempting to reproduce.

There is still in existence a complete set of matrices for a greek font from a slightly later period than Aldus, that of the famous *grecs du roi* designed and created by Claude Garamond under commission from the French king Francis I. These show how the third method for this solution worked, a method believed by Proctor to have

been reinvented for Greek typography (for it had been used before in roman typography) by Aldus Manutius—or rather Francesco Griffo, his type cutter. With the *grecs du roi*, in order to make the letters and diacritics seem to flow into each other, a system of horizontal “kerning” was used. This system consisted of casting a letter with a shortened body on one side so that its face, which protruded beyond the body, could overhang a blank spot on the body of the adjoining piece of type, allowing the two pieces to mesh together and causing them to have the appearance of a single sort. Barker discovered that Aldus actually used a somewhat different method. He set the accents and breathing marks over, rather than beside, the

vowel sorts, on a separate line. In addition, he sometimes kerned vertically, so that ascending and descending letters could mesh with the lines of type above and below them (on Aldus's system of kerning, see Barker [1992], 77–78; Proctor [1900], 20; Lowry, 90).

Proctor's fourth category of solutions to the problem of creating a greek font was one used by Zacharias Kallierges a few years after Aldus produced his first Greek book, but which was apparently under development at the same time as the method Aldus devised. It appears to be a combination of the second and third solutions; under this a separate sort was cast for each combination, but the casting process was simplified by cutting separate punches for letters and accents, clamping them together, and then striking the matrices. Thus the number of punches was greatly reduced, though the eventual number of sorts was large.

PREDECESSORS OF ALDUS

Of all these solutions and their variations to the basic problem of printing Greek, that developed by Aldus best answered the needs of the profession, given the technology of the time. The main objection modern scholars appear to have to the Aldine greek types is his choice of model. A fifteenth-century printer could choose a model from two traditions of Greek calligraphy: an upright, formal hand, mainly used for writing books for the church; and the florid, free, and informal cursive hand used for the copying of literary texts. The first style was much easier to adapt to metal types and so was used by the earliest printers of Greek, but the established distinction between the two styles caused a definite tension in the minds of readers of literary texts. Thus, when Aldus imitated in his type the more informal, literary hand, it became very popular and soon the older, simpler forms were used almost exclusively for the printing of liturgical works. It is difficult for twentieth-century readers to understand this strong association of certain writing styles with specific types of literature. Perhaps an analogy could be made to our current practice of setting off emphasized words or the titles of books in bibliographies with the *italic* typeface and not generally using it elsewhere. In any case, it is quite clear why, once the technical difficulties had been overcome, the cursive style was almost exclu-

sively used by printers all over Europe, with Aldus leading the way; and there really is no reason other than modern taste for Proctor's vehement scolding of Aldus for choosing this style as his model.

ἘΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ὀκτώ τοῦ λόγου
ΜΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ Ἀλλωντινων Ἀναγκαι
ων· συντεθεισα παρὰ κωνσταν
τίνου λασκαρεωστοῦ βυζαντίου

Περὶ διαρίσσεως τῶν γραμμάτων

βιβλίον πρῶτον.

ῥάμμα ἑστὶ μέρος ἰσάχιστον φωνῆς ἀδι
αίρετον· εἰσὶ δὲ ῥάμματι δ' εἰκοσὶ ἑπτὰ
ρα· τούτων φωνήεντα μὲν ἑπτὰ· α ἑ
η ἰ ο μικρὸν ν ψιλὸν καὶ ω μέγα·

σύμφωνά δὲ δεκά· πὰ· β γ δ ζ

θ κ λ μ ν ξ π ρ σ τ φ χ ψ· τῶν
δὲ φωνήεντων μὲν δύο η καὶ ω μέγα·

βραχέα δὲ δύο· ε ψιλὸν καὶ ο μικρὸν· δίχρονα

δὲ τρία α ἰ ν· ἐξ ὧν διφθογοὶ κυρίως μὲν ἑξ
γίνονται· αι αυ οι ᾠ ου· καθ' ἑκάστην

δὲ τῶν δρις α η ω γ· τῶν δὲ συμφώνων ἑ
μίφωνα μὲν ὀκτώ· ζ ξ ψ λ μ ν ρ σ· ὧν δὲ

πλᾶ μὲν τρία· ζ ξ ψ· ἀμετάβολά δὲ τέσσα
ρα· λ μ ν ρ· ἄφωνα δὲ ἑννέα· β γ δ κ π

τ θ φ χ· ὧν ψιλὰ μὲν τρία· κ π τ· δασέ
α δὲ τρία· θ φ χ· ἥσια δὲ τρία· β γ δ·

ἐκ τῶν διηρημένων δὲ τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων αὖτε
λαβὰ γίνονται· οἶον τε· ὅθιν αἰλέξας· οἶον πύ
τρος· ἐξ ὧν ὁ λόφος οἶον ὁ πῆρος δ' ἡ αἰγύσκη·

Dionysius Paravisinus, 1476

Erotemata of Constantine Lascaris. Leaf [3]r.

Proctor classified early printers of Greek into three categories (Proctor [1900], 10–15). The first of these he called the Older or Early Greek Type. This consisted of printers who printed Greek books under Hellenic influence (mainly Byzantine expatriates who flooded into Europe, and especially Italy, after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453) up to the establishment of the Aldine Press. The prime example of this category is the type used in the first book to be

ea q̄ dicūtur in scolis·ΘΗΤΙΚΩC·possidua ad nr̄m
 hoc oratoriū transfero dicēdi genus. Hoc s̄m opus
 in apertū ut referas·nichil postulo. Nō em̄n est tale.
 v̄t in arce poni possit·q̄i inmerua illa fide·s̄ tātū v̄t
 ex eadē officina exisse appareat·in hac eadē figura
 exisse appareat. ΟΤΙΧΟΧΟΧ ΤΟΚΑΑ ΟΜΑΤΑΘΟΧ.

Johann Fust and Peter Schöffer,
 1465 *Paradoxa* of Cicero. Leaf k5r.

published entirely in Greek, Constantine Lascaris's *Erotemata*, printed by Dionysius Paravisinus at Milan in 1476. The type, designed by Demetrius Damilas, was fairly simple but was able to resemble handwriting without the elaborate artifices of later fonts by reducing the white space between letters to an absolute minimum, causing the printed letters in many cases to look as though they are connected when in fact they are printed from separate pieces of type.

Proctor calls his second category Greco-Latin fonts. These were used by printers who normally printed in Latin or vernacular languages and were not under direct Hellenic influence. Printing in this category is often very haphazard in the use of accents and breathing marks, and the forms are often clumsy. The majority simply copied Greek quotations from Latin manuscripts, with varying results. Jenson's fonts, mentioned above, are an example of the best of this category. The first printed Greek ever attempted also falls into this category: Johann Fust and Peter Schöffer's 1465 *De officiis* and *Paradoxa* of Cicero, printed at Mainz. Fust and Schöffer's greek font consisted of only seven letters, η, θ, κ, ρ, τ, φ and ω, as well as a form of μ. The remaining letters were either supplied from roman fonts or were unneeded for the small amount of Greek being printed. This produced some unusual results, and one can hardly imagine that his Greek was intelligible to anyone.²

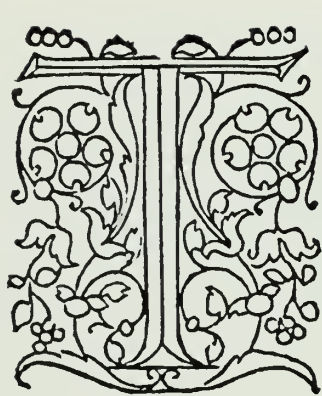
ALDUS'S FONTS

Aldus arrived in Venice in 1489 or 1490; his first book was published in 1495. He himself claims that he was spending this time developing his greek fonts; and given

the complexity of the operation (as well as the necessity for finding financial support for the expensive proposition of printing large numbers of Greek books with no proven market), this seems plausible. His first greek font appeared to the public for the first time in the *Erotemata* of Constantine Lascaris, published "the last day of February 1494," or 1495 by our current calendar (the Venetian calendar's new year began March 1). Barker describes the *Erotemata* as a "set-piece," a work designed to publicize the new press and its impressive Greek printing ability (Barker [1992], 45). After the *Erotemata*, the best known example of this Aldine font is the famous complete edition of Aristotle (NO. 11).

One of the innovations of this new font was that majuscule and minuscule letters had been designed to go together, something that had not been done before. Barker believes the model for this first font was the hand of Immanuel Rhosutas, one of the many Greek scholar-scribes in Italy at the time (Barker [1992], 52). The font included three hundred separate punches, not including the accents and punctuation. It included numerous ligatures and abbreviations, as well as variant forms of individual letters. One important problem this first font had was that Aldus's system of vertical kerning frequently produced "collisions" between ascending and descending letters in adjoining lines. The first solution to this problem was to expand the amount of space between lines, but as Aldus continued to develop his presswork other improvements were made.

The year after the first book was printed a second font was introduced, substantially smaller than the first, but otherwise similar in appearance. It cannot be said to be an improvement over the first font (if anything, it is less legible than the already difficult first font) and it



ἮΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ Ὅρους πραγ-
ματείας μέρη πέντε ὄσιν· ἡ γὰρ ὀ-
πίστωσ οὐκ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν καθ' οὖν
τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν λόγον· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁρισμὸν κατὰ πάντος
ἀνθρώπου ἀληθεύειν, ἢ ὅτι ὄντος
γένους, οὐκ ἔθηκεν εἰς γένος ἢ οὐκ
εἰς τὸ οἰκῆον γένος ἔθηκε· δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ὁρίζομενον εἰς τὸ γένος θέν-
τα, τὰς διαφορὰς προσάπειν· μάλιστα γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὀρι-

Greek Type 1

Aldus Manutius, 1495 Aristotle. Leaf I7r (actual size).

Ἰππεῖς.

Κλ. Ἀπὸ γὰρ μακαρίων ἐκποδῶν· Ἄμ. σὺ γὰρ φθόρε
Κλ. Ὡδὴ μὲν γὰρ μύθῳ παρὰ σε καὶ θαυμάσιος
Τρίπαλαι καὶ ἑπταβουλόμυθος εὐρυγείην.
Ἄμ. Ἐγὼ δὲ δεκάπαλαι γε καὶ δωδεκάπαλαι.
Καὶ χιλιόπαλαι καὶ πρόπαλαι· πάλαι πάλαι.
Δη. Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς δεκάτριγε, ἑξισμυρόπαλαι,
Βελύπτομαίσφω· καὶ πρόπαλαι· πάλαι· πάλαι.
Ἄμ. Οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ δρᾶσιν; Δη. εἴ γε μὴ φράσεις γε σύ
Ἄμ. Ἀφ' οὗ ἀπὸ βαλβίδωρ ἐμέτι καὶ ρυτορί.

μῶν, ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ὃ ἄκνυρος
ἔχει καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ὡς φησὶν
ἀριστοτέλης διερῶν μύθου
ὡς θεομα, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μὲν τῷ
ψῆφον καθίεσθαι· πρὸς γὰρ
το οὖν ὁ κνυρὸς· ἀντὶ δὲ ψῆ-
φωι ταῖς χεῖρσιν αἰσθάνε-
σαι ἔχων το αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ γὰρ
πρὸς εἶσιν ὡς φησὶν ἐποφρό-
δι πρὸς ταῖς λέξεσιν· καὶ
ὁ γὰρ ἰσὶ παρὰ δὲ πρὸς τῶν
οὐτως ἐκατέρωθεν μὲν, ὅκα
λαμψιμὸς, ὡς ξυνοφῶν ἐν

πρὸς τῶν ἰππικῶν, πλεονεξία ἐκ ποσίων γὰρ ὁμοιοὶ ὁμοιοὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς τὰς πορφύρας λαμβάνουσιν,
ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν πορφύρας τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν αὐτῶν δὲ πλεονεξία ἐκ τῶν δὲ λευκῶν ὡς φησὶν ἡμῶν

Greek Types 1 and 2

Aldus Manutius, 1498 Aristophanes. Leaf φ 1r (actual size).

χεται κείναι τὴν γῆν· κρινεῖ τὴν
 οἰκζμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· ἡ λαοὺς
 ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ. Δόξα· Κ αὖ
 νῦ· Α ν π ῖ· Χ αῖ ρι παρθένη μαρ-
 ρία· ἡ μόνη τὰς αἰρέσεις ἀπέσας
 ἀφανίσασα ἐν παντὶ τὴν κόσμον.
 Α ν π ῖ· Α ξ ῖ ω σό μ μ ε· Υ α λ μ ό σ.
 ○ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἅ-
 γαλλι· ἄδω ἡ πῆ· δύφραν-
 θήτωσαν ῥῆσιν πολλαί· Νιφί-
 λη· ἐν φόβῳ κύκλω αὐτοῦ· δι-
 καιοσύνη καὶ ἡρίμα κατόρθω-
 μα τῶν θρόνου αὐτοῦ· Π ὕ ρ ἐ ν ὡ π ι

Greek Type 2
 Aldus Manutius,

1497 *Horae beatissimae Virginis*. Leaf 08r (actual size).

δωκεν αὐτῷ, ἢ ἀρχιάρχος μὲν ἐστῶν· ἡ κείνῳ δὲ τὸ
 αὐτὰ πάθος ἀπεδόθη· καὶ αὐτὸς κατέβη εἰς τὸ σκό-
 τος· μανῶσθις· ἐποίησεν ἐλεημοσύνην, καὶ ἐστῶν ἐκ
 παγίδος θανάτου ἧς ἐπήξαμεν αὐτῷ· ἁμαρτὴν δὲ ἐπέπεσε
 εἰς τὴν παγίδα καὶ ἀπώλετο· ἢ νῦν παρδόν ἴδετε
 ποιῆσαι· καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐλεημοσύνην ῥύεσθαι·

καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὁξέλιπεν ἡ ψυχή
 αὐτῷ· ἐδὶ τὴν κλίβανον· ἦν δὲ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντή-
 κοντα ὀκτώ, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν δόξῳ· καὶ ὅτε ἅ-
 πτε θάνατον αὐτῷ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ·

ἡ πῆλθε δὲ τῷ βίᾳ· μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ τῶν υἱῶν εἰς ἐκβατάνᾳ πρὸς ῥαββὴν τὸν πεν-
 τηκοντὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγράψεν εἰς τὴν μίσην, καὶ ἔθαψε τοὺς
 πεντηκοντὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῳ, καὶ ἐκκληρονόμησε τῇς
 οὐσίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τῷ βίᾳ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ,

καὶ ἀπέθανον ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἑκκοσι ἐπτά ἐν

ἐκβατάνοις τῆς μηδείας· καὶ ἦν

κουσε πρὶν ἢ ἀρχθανεῖν αὐ-

τὸν τὴν ἀπώλειαν

νοῦ ἡ ψυχῆ

λώπεν

σε

ναβου

τῷ

δύνοσος,

ἢ ἀπώλειαν

Greek Type 3

Aldus Manutius, 1518 *Sacrae scripturae veteris novaeque omnia*.

Leaf 181r (actual size).

remained in use for just three years, only six books being
 set exclusively in it. It was useful for the printing of very
 small books, however, and does well in the 1497 *Horae*
beatissimae Virginis (NO. 12). It also did well when two
 different typefaces were wanted, as in the 1498
Aristophanes (NO. 13), which followed the medieval
 practice of surrounding a block of text with commentary
 in smaller print.

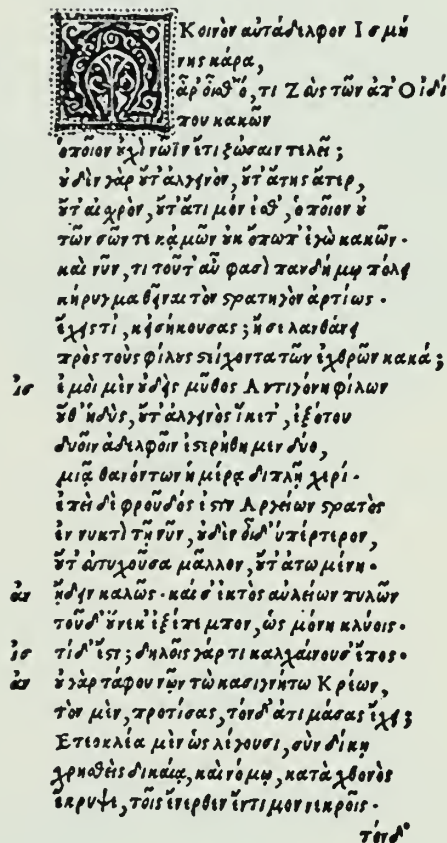
The edition of *Aristophanes* was the last book to be
 printed in type one. Barker believes this to be a function
 of economy: smaller type equals more printing to the
 page and less paper used (Barker [1992], 85). Since paper
 is consistently named as a printer's largest capital expense
 for this period, this seems plausible enough.

In 1499 a third font appeared—a smaller font like the
 second, but much more legible. It tends to be more

vertical, and the letters are more regularly drawn. In addi-
 tion, its size—slightly smaller than type two—allows the
 compositor to get much more on the page. In this font
 there is much less vertical kerning than in type one and
 thus less opportunity for collision between lines. The
 model for this font, according to Barker, was probably the
 script of Marcus Musurus (Barker [1992], 59), the most
 important editor Aldus employed for his Greek materials.
 This font was his most successful in terms of popularity;
 it remained in use in all Aldine quarto and folio books for
 many years and was extensively imitated all over Europe.

The fourth greek type developed by Aldus was a
 dramatic change from the first three, first appearing in the
 1502 *Sophocles* (NO. 15). It was designed expressly to go
 with his new italic type, both of which were created for
 the new octavo format. This font is therefore rather

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΑΝ
ΤΙΓΟΝΗ.



Greek Type 4

Aldus Manutius, 1502 Sophocles. Leaf v2v (actual size).

smaller than the first three, and because of its size had to be simplified tremendously. Thought to be modeled after Aldus's own Greek hand, this font has dramatically fewer ligatures and abbreviations than the earlier fonts, containing in all only seventy sorts in the lower case (the uppercase letters come from type three though they are much better suited to type four and share many sorts with the upper case used with Aldus's italic), plus ten accents and abbreviations and four punctuation marks (Barker [1992], 89). This must have seemed a dream come true for his compositors, accustomed as they had by now become to the larger number of sorts in the earlier fonts, although the third type continued to be used in larger format books. To the modern eye, this fourth type

seems the easiest to read; however, it did not catch the fancy of European Greek printers, and most of the fonts in use for the next three centuries descended from the third type Aldus developed.

APPLICATION FOR PRIVILEGES

After all the work and expense of developing his first greek font, Aldus naturally wanted to protect it from imitation by his many competitors. Thus on February 25, 1495, simultaneously with the publication of his first book, Aldus applied to the Venetian authorities for a twenty-year privilege giving him not only the exclusive right to use his "lettere greche," but also the exclusive right to all printing in Greek.³ In justification for this application, Aldus mentions somewhat mysteriously "two new methods" which he has invented for the printing of Greek. What these new methods were is not entirely understood. Aldus, wishing to protect his work, apparently treated them somewhat as a trade secret and did not wish to give them away in his application for protection. Proctor believes they were Aldus's adoption of the cursive Greek style as a model and his method of kerning (Proctor [1900], 100). Barker points out that it would be difficult for Aldus to justify a copyright on a whole class of writing (i.e., Greek cursive) and believes that the two methods mentioned were the vertical kerning of the letters and the system of using separate sorts for accents and letters. He notes that both of these methods had been used before, but neither in Venice (Barker [1992], 93).

Aldus's application for privilege was granted; but naturally such a broad copyright could not go unchallenged, especially since there were, in fact, other printers printing Greek in Venice. In 1498 Gabriel of Brasichella obtained a Venetian privilege of his own for Greek printing, and used a type that resembled that of Aldus very closely. The two privileges collided head on, and Aldus was immediately involved in a lawsuit. In Barker's analysis, Gabriel's lawsuit had two purposes: to eliminate the connection between the privilege granted to Aldus for his typefaces and that for the books printed with them; and to challenge his exclusive right to print books in an area so broad as the entire Greek language. In his defense, Aldus countered that first Gabriel had imitated the shape of his type and then infringed on the right clearly granted to him by his prior privilege to print all books in the Greek

language. After lengthy deliberations, Aldus won the day on the matter of his type design (the rival type was banned), but lost the exclusive privilege to print in Greek. From then on, more sensibly, copyright was granted for specific titles only (Barker [1992], 91 ff., Lowry, 127).⁴

* * *

GREEK CLASSICS

I 2 *Horae Beatissimae Virginis (Book of Hours)*

TRANSCRIPTION OF TITLE PAGE: Ὁραι τῆς ἀειπαρθένου
Μαρίας κατ' ἔθος τῆς ῥωμαικῆς αὐλῆς. Ἑπτὰ ψαλμοὶ
τῆς μετανοίας. Horae beatiss[imae]. uirginis
secu[n]dum consuetudinem romanae curiae. Septem
psalmi poenitentiales cu[m] Letaniis & orationibus.
[title page not present in BYU copy; cf. UCLA, 801]

COLOPHON: Ενετίκησιν [sic] ετυπώθη παρ' ἄλδω [sic],
οὐκ ἄνευ μέντοι προνομίου [sic]. χιλιοστῶ [sic]
τετρακοσιοστῶ [sic] ἐννενηκοστῶ [sic] ἐβδόμῳ ἀπὸ
τῆς θεογονίας ἔτει [1497]. μηνὸς ποσειδεῶνος πέμπτη
ἵσταμενον. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Αυγουστίνου [sic]
Βαρβαδίκου τὴν βασιλίδαν τῶν πόλεων ταύτην
εὐτυχῶς ἡνιοχούντοσ [colophon not present in BYU
copy; cf. UCLA, 801]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [112] leaves: ill. (woodcut); 12 cm.
(16mo).

SIGNATURES: α⁸ (-α1) b-ξ⁸ (-ξ8).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Missing binding, sewn on recessed
cords, with no endbands, endpapers or pastedowns. Gilt
edges.

The Book of Hours was the prayer book of the lay
people of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance.
Since very early days the clergy, monks, and nuns of the
Roman Church had had the texts of their prayers and
liturgy more or less standardized in the Missal and the
Breviary; these contained the prayers, hymns, and other

texts sung or spoken at Mass and daily at the canonical
hours. There were seven or eight such daily services:
Matins and Lauds (usually done together, at night),
Prime, Tierce, Sext, and None (done at approximately
three-hour intervals during the day), and Vespers and
Compline (done during the evening). During the tenth
century a text entitled the Little Office of the Blessed
Virgin Mary, a shortened version of the services at the
canonical hours, was introduced to the Breviary and
became extremely popular. At about the same time, lay
people became interested in imitating the worship of the
clergy, and the Little Office began to be written with
manuscripts containing the Psalter. During the thirteenth
century the Little Office became detached from the
Psalter and stood as an independent text, becoming the
basic text of the Book of Hours. At the same time, the
Book of Hours attracted several other devotional texts or
aids, most of which will be found in the typical Book of
Hours. The “essential” texts are the Calendar (informing
the worshiper of the correct timing of the festivals and
saints’ days), the Little Office, the Seven Penitential
Psalms (Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142), the
Litany (a brief invocation of the Trinity, the Virgin, the
apostles, the archangels, and a long list of saints), the
Office of the Dead, and the Suffrages of the Saints (short
prayers to major and local saints). In addition, many other
texts may be associated with a Book of Hours, depending
on the location of its manufacture and the tastes of its
purchaser. The Book of Hours was an extremely popular
book (it has often been referred to as the best-seller of the
Middle Ages) and was created both in mass-produced,
relatively inexpensive editions from large workshops for
the newly rising middle classes, and in elaborate and
lavishly illuminated editions by famous artists for the
ostentatious devotion of the wealthy.

The 1497 Aldine Book of Hours is a direct translation
into Greek of three of the essential texts of the standard
Latin Book of Hours: the Little Office of the Blessed
Virgin Mary, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the
Litany. In addition, the Athanasian Creed is printed, as
well as a text entitled “On the service of the most holy
and eternally virgin Mary.” This may seem rather an
unusual offering for a humanistic printing establishment
dedicated to the revival and dissemination of the Greek
classics, but there were good reasons for this. In the first



Ἀκολουθία ἑνὶ ὥρῃ δι' αὐ-
 τὸν Μαρτίου καὶ τοῦ δι' ἡ-
 μαρτίου ἀνάλῃς.
 Εἰς τὸν ὁρθρινόν. Στίχος.

Κύριε τὰ χεῖλη μου ἀνοί-
 ζεις. Ἀπόκλειεις. Καὶ
 τὸ στόμα μου ἀναπέλθῃ τῷ αἰνεῖσθ-
 ουν. Στίχος. Ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν βοή-
 θειάν μου πρόχες. Ἀπό. Καὶ ὑ-
 εἰς τὸ βοηθῆσαί μοι ἀνέστη. Δό-
 ξα πατρὶ ὁ ὡς ὁ ἀγῶ πνύμα-
 α ἱ

Leaf a2r.

place, the very popularity of the Book of Hours assured a market for a printed edition, no doubt even one in Greek. It seems likely that the press could use such sure sellers to offset smaller profits from its less popular offerings. Secondly, a Greek translation of portions of the Book of Hours fit in very well with Aldus's program of introducing the Greek language to the educated class of his day. One much-used pedagogical method for learning foreign languages is to study a familiar text in that language. The Little Office and the Seven Penitential Psalms would have been two of the most familiar texts Aldus could have chosen, being repeated daily by the devout and no doubt at least heard several times a year by the less religious. The fact that most of the texts normally found in the Book of Hours have been omitted (especially the Calendar and the Office of the Dead) may indicate that Aldus had more of a pedagogical than a devotional purpose in publishing this book. Finally, Aldus also had many friends and contacts among Uniate Catholics, Greeks who favored union with the Roman Church and who might have appreciated a printed Greek version of these important texts from the Roman rite.

This extremely small book, in sextodecimo format, in many ways anticipates the introduction of the octavo format by Aldus in 1501 and perhaps was one of the things that suggested it to him. The book is printed in his short-lived second greek font which had been reduced in size from the first, making it more difficult to read; in a book of this small format, however, it works well.

REFERENCES: Backhouse; Brunet, 3:304; Goff, H-391; Harthan; Panzer, 3:421, no. 2253; Renouard, 15, no. 13 ("extrêmement rare, . . . l'impression est fort belle"); Wieck; UCLA, 801.

* * *

I 3 Aristophanes. *Works*

COLOPHON: Venetiis apud Aldum. M.IID. Idibus Quintilis. [1498] [colophon not present in BYU copy]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [348] leaves; 32 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: pi⁸ α-γ⁸ δ¹⁰ ε-ξ⁸ ο¹⁰ π-υ⁸ φ⁶ χ-ω⁸ Α-Ε⁸ Ζ⁶ Η-Λ⁸ Μ⁴ Ν-Ο⁸ Π¹⁰ Ρ-Σ⁸ Τ⁶ (-Τ5-6).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum, sewn on double raised cords, with single front-beaded natural endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Title gold-tooled onto two brown leather labels on spine. Labels gold-tooled with ornaments.

Aristophanes (mid-fifth century B.C.) is the only surviving representative of Greek Old Comedy. Eleven of his approximately forty known plays have survived to modern times.

The 1498 Aldine edition with scholia is the first printed edition of Aristophanes and is generally considered to be one of the finest early efforts of the press. The editor, Marcus Musurus, consulted several manuscripts, one of which—Modena Ms. Graecus V.5, 10 (Gr. 127)—is still extant and contains his signature. One of the most important manuscripts for the text of Aristophanes, Venetus, was a part of the library which

Aldus's program of introducing and promoting the Greek language through the publication of educational tools. In his own preface, Aldus comments on the advantages students of Greek in his day had over those of just a few generations earlier, including the availability of texts and competent teachers. Aldus announces that he is sending a copy of his Aristophanes to Clari to further Clari's own task of teaching Greek. Explaining to Clari that he could only find half of the *Lysistrata* and thus did not print it he says that, nevertheless,

ARISTOPHANIS COMOEDIAE NOYEM.

Πλοῦτης	Plutus
Νεφέλαι	Nebulæ
Βαρβαροι	Rauæ
Ἴππιδες	Equites
Ἀχαρνεες	Acharnes
Σφραγες	Velpæ
ὄρνιθες	Aues
Εἰρήνη	Pax
Ἐκταραυνοζουτοι	Contionantes

Ἐπίγραμμα ἑξήκοντον

[illegible]

Sung Putri Batangsi Baranfis.
Sic Lurik &

these nine, along with the best ancient commentaries, are enough: nothing would be better for those desiring to learn Greek than these, nothing can better be read. This is not just my opinion, of which I don't boast, but also that of Theodoros Gazes, a most learned man, who, when asked which of the Greek authors should be the most carefully studied by students of Greek, said, 'Only Aristophanes, for only he . . . is pure Attic.' John Chrysostom is said to have taken this advice so to heart that he always had twenty-eight Aristophanic comedies with him, and even used them for a pillow when he slept.

REFERENCES: BM STC Italian, 42; BM, 5:559; Brunet, 1:451; Dibdin, 1:173; Easterling and Knox, 1:775–77; Goff, A-958; Grasse, 1:209 (“plus correcte que la plupart des éditions postérieures”); *GW*, 2333; Lowry, 114, 230, 232; Panzer, 3:438, no. 2378; Proctor, 5567; Renouard, 16, no. 3; Wilson [1962], 35–36; UCLA, 22.

* * *

I4 Philostratus. *De vita Apollonii*

COLOPHON (part 1): Venetiis apud Aldum Mense Martio.
M.DI. [1501]

PREFACE (part 2) signed: Venetiis mense Maio. M.D.III.
[1504]

COLOPHON (part 2): Venetiis In aedibus Aldi mense februario.
M.DII. [1502, i.e., 1503]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [73], 73, [1] leaves; 31 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: a-g⁸ h¹⁰ (h¹⁰ blank, missing) Apoll.⁸ (Apoll.4 signed Apoll.3) 2a-2h⁸ i¹⁰.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin, sewn on double raised cords, with single front-beaded brown/white endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto brown leather label on spine.

Φιλοστράτου τῷ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τυανέως βίῃ βιβλία ὀκτώ·
Εὐσεβίου καὶ Γερόμα· τοῦ Γκαμφίλου, ἀπὸ Πιρίετικῆς· ἡρώδης τὰ ἱερὰ καλῶντος, Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ
τυανέῳ τῷ σωτήρι χειρὶ καὶ παρακλήσεως.

Philostrati de vita Apollonii Tyanci libri octo.

Idem libri latini interprete Alemano Rinuccino florentino.

Eusebius contra Hieroclem ꝓ Tyaneum Christo confesse conatus fuisse.

Idem latinus interprete Zenobio Acciolo florentino ordinis prædicatorum.



Philostratus (b. ca. A.D. 170) was the biographer of participants in what is now called the Second Sophistic, a period during which performing rhetoricians became immensely popular and wealthy for their declamations. In addition to his biographies of the sophists, Philostratus wrote, at the instance of the empress Julia Domna, a life of Apollonius of Tyana, a narrative “rich in fabulous details of exotic lands and miraculous events” (Easterling and Knox, 1:657). Apollonius was a mystic from Cappadocia, active at about the beginning of the Christian era, who spent his life teaching,

performing miracles, and visiting lands as distant as India. This work of Philostratus resembles a number of ancient genres, from the Greek novel to fictionalized travel literature to saints’ lives (though this is a pagan work). The work has been dismissed as a fraud, but there is fascinating evidence that Apollonius and his assistant, Damis of Nineveh, actually were in India as Philostratus says they were, since Sanskrit tradition unconnected with Philostratus records two yogis in India under the right circumstances, called Apalunya and Damisa (ibid.).

Aldus began his publication of Philostratus with enthusiasm, but he evidently soon came to the conventional conclusion that the *Vita* was worthless. In the 1504 preface, in an unusual “advertisement” for the book he has just published, he laments:

I had hoped, most learned Zenobius, that I would read in Philostratus’s *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* much especially worthy of note, but things have turned out far differently. I cannot remember ever having read worse trash, a book less worth reading. For not only did everything seem to be fantasy, similar to the tales of old women, but the contents were insipid and clumsily written. I couldn’t easily say how annoyed and bored I got reading the book. But what was I to do? It seemed wrong to stop what I had begun.

For the sake of the work’s profitability, one hopes that the buying public was not completely discouraged by this bizarre, though sincere, expression of opinion. Aldus’s waning enthusiasm is the probable explanation for the very odd printing history of the work, the first part (the Greek text) being printed in 1501, the second (translation and commentary) nearly two years later in 1503, and the work as a whole not published until 1504. As Aldus concluded that the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* was not really worth his while, he put the project on the proverbial back burner.

REFERENCES: Adams, P-1067; American STC Italian, 2:574; Anderson; BM STC Italian, 512; Brunet, 4:621 (“édition plus rare que recherchée”); Grässe, 5:273; Lowry, 148; Panzer, 8:342, no. 40; Renouard, 26, no. 2; Reynolds, 156; UCLA, 65.

ΣΟΦΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙ ΕΡΤΑ
ΜΕΤΕΞΗΓΗΣΕΩΝ.

SOPHOCLES TRAGÆDIAE SEPTEM
CVM COMMENTARIIS.

Τὰ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ὀνόματα.

Tragœdiarum nomina.

αἴας μαστροφόρος.

ἤλεκτρα.

οἰδίππος τύραννος.

ἄντιγόνη.

οἰδίππος ἐπὶ κολωνῶ.

τραχίνια.

φιλοκτήτης.

Aias flagellifer.

Electra.

Oedipus tyrannus.

Antigone.

Oedipus coloneus.

Trachiniae.

Philoctetes.

COLOPHON: Venetiis in Aldi Romani Academia mense
Augusto .M.DII. [1502] [colophon not present in
library copy]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [392] p.; 17 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: α-γ⁸ δ⁴ ε-η⁸ θ⁴ ι-λ⁸ μ⁴ ν-σ⁸ τ¹⁰ υ-φ⁸ χ¹⁰
ψ-2α⁸ 2β⁴ (-2β4).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum, sewn on single raised cords,
with single front-beaded yellow laced-in endbands.
Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt and gauffered
edges. Title blind-tooled onto spine.

The fifth-century B.C. Greek tragedian Sophocles is
supposed to have written more than 123 plays, but due
to the “canonization” of seven of the plays around the
second century A.D. into an anthology of school texts,
these are the only plays to survive in the manuscript
tradition. The 1502 Aldine edition is the first printed
version. Approximately two hundred medieval and
Renaissance manuscripts are now available for

Sophocles, but the Aldine editors worked from just two,
now in St. Petersburg and Vienna; and by modern stan-
dards of textual criticism, they worked rather
unsystematically. The worth of this edition has there-
fore created much controversy. Until the nineteenth
century the text was the best available and valued
accordingly. Thus Moss’s *Manual of Classical Bibliography*
(1837) calls the edition “a very beautiful, accurate, and
valuable edition, presenting us with a correct text”
(2:595); Renouard, similarly, calls it a “première et
excellente édition.” A. C. Pearson’s 1923 Oxford
Classical Text edition (still in print) does cite the Aldine
edition in its *apparatus criticus*, but two prominent
scholars of the current generation condemn the edition
as “not a notable achievement in the annals of scholar-
ship, and very rarely earn[ing] mention in a modern
apparatus criticus” (Lloyd-Jones and Wilson, 1).⁵

Aldus announces in his colophon that the book is
published by his “Academy.” This is the first of his
publications with such a colophon. The Academy is
also mentioned in his preface, dedicated to the Greek
scholar Janus Lascaris: “As we sat in a semicircle at the
fire in the cold of this winter with our fellow New
Academicians . . . the topic of our conversation turned
to you. . . . Therefore, when I recently printed
Sophocles’s seven tragedies in small format I wanted to
publish them out of our New Academy under your
name and send them to you as a memento of my high
esteem for you.” This description of Aldus and his
learned friends warming themselves beside the fire is
well known, but the purpose and composition of this
New Academy is not entirely clear to us. The single
existing copy of the *Neakademias nomos*, or *Rules of the
New Academy* (probably to be dated 1502), was discov-
ered in the Vatican in the nineteenth century⁶ and
sheds interesting, if not conclusive, light on the ques-
tion. In this document we meet Aldus, gathered with
six of his scholar friends, who all promise that they
henceforth will speak only Greek to each other, using
the proper pronunciation. Anyone who fails to do so is
fined; the fines rise geometrically if the offender fails
to pay, and they are to be kept in a box until enough
has been collected for a party, at which time the
Academicians are to “entertain [themselves] grandly
and not in the style reserved for the printers, but in a

fashion worthy of men who are already dreaming of the Neakadenia and have already in the Platonic sense almost established it" (trans. Wilson [1992], 130). The document was at first thought to be the charter for a real Academy, but the current consensus is that it is actually a slightly humorous document with the serious purpose of engaging its signatories, a loosely organized group of friends (Lowry [1979], 197), to plan an academy whose purpose was to be the promotion of Greek language and literature in Western Europe; the Aldine printing establishment would naturally be the centerpiece of such a proposition. The academy was never realized, though members of the group enthusiastically taught Greek and delivered orations in praise of the language. By 1504, however, the signatories of the original document were already drifting away from Venice, and the name of the academy, which appears in Aldine colophons from 1502 to 1504, never reappears thereafter. Aldus continued to dream of setting up an academy and even appears to have made tentative plans to move to Germany for the purpose, but this never came about (see discussion in Lowry [1976], Lowry, 196–200, Wilson [1992], 129 ff.).

From a typographical point of view, the 1502 edition of Sophocles is of interest as the first appearance of Aldus's fourth greek type, designed especially for his new octavo format. The edition exists in two states; in the first, the title page does not list the contents of the book and p. [2]–[3] are blank; in the second, the title page has a bilingual table of contents and p. [2]–[3] contain the preface to Lascaris and an epigram on Sophocles. The BYU copy is the second state.

In spite of the title and the promise expressed by Aldus in the preface, no commentary is published with this edition; in fact the commentary was never published by Aldus. It was finally printed at Rome in 1518.

REFERENCES: Adams, S-1438; American STC Italian, 3:189; Buxton; Brunet, 5:445; Dain; Fletcher, 90, 105, 113; Grässe, 6:439; Lowry [1976], 378–420; Lowry, 89, 238–39; Panzer, 8:354, no. 126; Renouard, 34, no. 6; Robertson, 66; UCLA, 48.

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16 Thucydides. *Historiae*

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ-

ΤΗΥΚΥΔΙΔΕΙΣ.

COLOPHON: Ενετίησι παρ' Αλδῶ χιλιοστῷ πεντακο-
σιοστῷ, μετὰ γειτνιῶνος τετάρτη ἱσταμένου. Venetiis
in domo Aldi mense Maio. M.DII. [1502]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [124] leaves; 32 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: AA⁸ (AA⁸ blank) ²AA⁸ BB-ΓC⁸ (ΓC⁴ signed
ΓG⁴) ΔD-ZF⁸ (ZF¹–2 signed ZZ¹–2) HG-ΞO⁸ OP⁴
(OP⁴ blank).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red embossed leather, sewn on single
cords, with double front-beaded blue/gold endbands. Blue
silk page marker. Blue silk endpapers and pastedowns with
gold-tooled border. Gilt and gauffered edges. False bands
on spine. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back
covers, board edges, turn-ins, endcaps, and spine. Title
gold-tooled onto spine.

The Aldine 1502 edition of Thucydides is the *editio princeps* of the fifth-century B.C. historian of the Peloponnesian War, described by Lowry as an "exceptionally important first edition" (Lowry, 142). Interest in Thucydides had been encouraged by Lorenzo Valla's translation into Latin, commissioned by Pope Nicholas V and completed between 1448 and 1452. This translation was published in the early 1480s, probably at Treviso by Joannes Rubeus (BYU special collections owns a copy of this edition, as well as several editions from the sixteenth century). However, Thucydides was not widely available in the original Greek until the Aldine edition. This edition includes the complete Greek text of Thucydides, as well as two lives of the historian. Aldus had intended to publish scholia with this edition, but they were not ready in time and so he published them the following year with an edition of Xenophon and Herodian.

Aldus, who edited the text himself, consulted three manuscripts—probably those now identified as K, G, and Pl, or manuscripts with close affinities to them. Although he neither used the services of a professional editor (as he says in the preface, he prepared the text “nullius uiri docti auxilio”—“without the help of any learned man”) nor employed any scientific method of textual criticism (these methods had not yet been developed), it is still generally accepted that the resulting text is quite good.

REFERENCES: Adams, T-662; Alberti, CLXV, CXIX; American STC Italian, 3:268; BM STC Italian, 672; Barker [1992], 85; Brunet, 5:844; Dibdin, 2:291; Grässe, 7:148; Lowry, 142; Panzer, 8:354, no. 124; Perrins, 159; Renouard, 33, no. 4; UCLA, 45.

* * *

17 *Aesop's Fables* Babrius. *Fabulae Aesopeae*

Lucius Annaeus Cornutus. *De natura deorum*

Palaephatus. *De incredibilibus*

Heraclides. *Allegoriae Homericae*

Horapollus. *Hieroglyphica*

Aphthonius. *De fabula*

Philostratus. *De fabula*

Hermogenes. *De fabula*

COLOPHON: Venetiis apud Aldum me[n]se Octobri .M.D.V.
[1505]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [88], 142 [i.e. 140] p., 172 col., [1]
leaf; 27 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: pi¹ A⁸ B¹⁰ C⁸ D¹⁰ a–h⁸ i⁶ k–j⁸ o⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin, sewn on single cords, with double front-beaded red/white endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. False bands stained dark brown on spine. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, spine, turn-ins, board edges, and encaps. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

This curious collection of texts is the first edition of everything except Aesop, which had been published at least four times before 1505. Aesop is said to have been a Thracian slave on the island of Samos, living during the early sixth century B.C. A large body of fables has come down to us under the name of Aesop, and he probably did compose some of them; however, many of the fables ascribed to him probably came from other sources. The tales were collected as early as the fourth and third centuries B.C.

Habentur hoc uolumine haec, uidelicet.

Vita, & Fabulae Aesopi cum interpretatione latina, & tamen ut leparari a graeco possit v: o uniuscuiusq; arbitrio. quibus traducendis multum eerte elaborauimus. nam quae ante tralata habebantur, infida admodum erant, quod facillimum erit certisanti cognoscere.

Abbatia fabulae tres & quadraginta ex trimetris iambis, praeter ultimam ex Seazonte, cum latina interpretatione. Quas idcirco bis curauimus in formadas, quia priores ubi latinum a graeco seiungi potest, admodum quam incoerre excusae fuerant exempli culpa. quare nacti emendatum exemplum, operae pretium uisum est iterum excudendas curare, ut ex secundis prima queant corrigi.

P humutus seu, ut alij, Cumutus de natura deorum.

P alaephatus de non credendis historiis.

H eraclides Ponticus de Allegoriis apud Homericum.

O ri Apollinis Niliaci hieroglyphica.

C ollectio prouerbiorum Tarrhaci, & Didymi item eorum, quae apud Suda, dam, aliosq; habentur per ordinem literarum.

E x Aphthonij exercitamentis de fabula. Tum de formicis, & cicadis graece, & latine.

D e Fabula ex imaginibus Philostrati graece, & latine.

E x Hermogenis exercitamentis de fabula Prisciano interprete.

A pologus Aesopi de Calista apud Gellium.



One of the more interesting and significant of the other texts is that of Horapollus, a native of upper Egypt who lived during the fourth or fifth century A.D. and who wrote “the only true hieroglyphic treatise preserved from classical antiquity” (Iversen, 47). Horapollus lived more than a century after the last hieroglyphics had been inscribed on Egyptian temples and the language

suppressed; but lists of hieroglyphics had been secretly handed down, and it appears that Horapollus used such a list to write his *Hieroglyphica*. The work itself makes the claim that it was originally written in Egyptian and translated into Greek; some modern scholars think that its original language may have been Coptic.

The discovery of the sole manuscript of Horapollus in 1419 caused quite a stir among the Renaissance intellectual community, which was greatly intrigued by Egyptian hieroglyphics. Numerous copies were made, including one for Cardinal Bessarion, and Aldus used one of these copies to create the first printed edition of the work.

Horapollus has generally correct notions as to the meanings of the hieroglyphics he describes and even correctly gives the pronunciation for some of them, but he unfortunately combines this with bizarre and usually incorrect reasons for the meanings of the signs. For example, he declares that a goose is the hieroglyph for "son," because the goose is known to be the animal that loves its children the most; similarly, the vulture is the hieroglyph for "mother" because vultures only exist in the female gender. The goose and the vulture are, in fact, the hieroglyphs for son and mother, but the actual reason for this is that the names of the animals in Egyptian are homonymous with the signified words (Iversen, 48).

Horapollus's allegorical interpretation of the hieroglyphs appealed to Renaissance belief in hieroglyphics as symbols with mystical significance beyond the text itself (a belief reinforced by the etymology of the word "hieroglyph" which literally means "sacred carving"). This was related to notions about Platonic Ideas: to a Neoplatonist the hieroglyph, in a real sense, represented the visible form of the celestial Idea. Marsilio Ficino knew and used Horapollus in his work on Plotinus (Boas, 28); Geoffroy Tory read and translated parts of the *Hieroglyphica*, and Rabelais owned a copy which is still in existence (and he mentions Horapollus at *Gargantua* 1.9) (ibid., 34). Athanasius Kircher and other Renaissance scholars who attempted to translate hieroglyphics relied heavily on Horapollus. The deeply entrenched notion, partly originating with Horapollus, that hieroglyphics had an allegorical significance in and of themselves, was one of the obstacles which ultimately prevented these scholars from deciphering the Egyptian language.

REFERENCES: Dibdin, 1:135–36; Easterling and Knox, 1:886; Gardiner, 11; Goldschmidt, 84–85; Hammond and Scullard, 19–20 (s.v. "Aesop"); Renouard, 49, no. 6; Roeder; UCLA, 77.

* * *

I 8 Plutarch. *Moralia*

Ιαση μαθητῆς· καὶ τῶν φίλων.
1567.

PLUTARCHI OPUSCULA. LXXXII.

Index Moraliū omnium, & eorum quæ in
ipsis tractantur, habetur hoc quatenus
ne. Numerus autem Arithmeti-
cus remittit lectorem ad
semipaginā, ubi tra-
ctantur singula.



Expectatio Iustitiae Victoriae.

COLOPHON (vol. 2): Venetiis in aedibus Aldi & Andreae
Asulani Soceri. mense Martio. M.D.IX. [1509]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 2 v.; 29 cm. (fol.).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded red/yellow endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, board edges, endcaps and spine. Title gold-tooled onto brown leather label on spine and gold-tooled onto spine.

The 1509 edition of Plutarch was the product of many years' work (Aldus complains in the preface that the work on the *Moralia* was very difficult and comments that he had been nearly forced to abandon the project many times). The work was edited by Demetrius Ducas, a Cretan scholar who was a participant in Aldus's academy. Ducas was assisted by Erasmus as well as Girolamo Aleandro, who just one month after the Aldine publication published his own, somewhat improved, edition of some of Plutarch's essays in Paris.

Renouard and other early scholars guessed that the manuscripts used for the preparation of the text were those which Bessarion had donated to the city of Venice along with the rest of his extensive manuscript library. It now seems unlikely that Aldus or anyone else had access to these materials until nearly a century after Bessarion's death in 1472. In fact, the press copy of much of the Aldine edition of Plutarch has been discovered at the Ambrosian Library in Milan; its state is a case study in how early printers treated these manuscripts. Rather than make a new, corrected, and edited copy of the text for the typesetters, Ducas and others simply wrote changes onto the original thirteenth-century manuscript itself. Parts of the manuscript contain the page markings of the Aldine text, ensuring that the type for a given page ended and started at the correct point. Some of the pages are marked *stampato* ("printed"), indicating that those sections had already been printed from another source and there was no need to go over them again. There is evidence from this manuscript that even as manuscript pages were being handed to the typesetters the editing of the work was still in process.

Although the direction of the chain lines in the paper implies that this is a quarto book, that is, each piece of paper was printed in four sections and then folded to form four leaves, Renouard notes that the size of the final leaves is so large that if this had been the procedure, Aldus would have needed a much larger press than he is

known to have had. Therefore, Renouard posits that he cut the sheets in two and printed them as folios, each piece being printed in two sections and then folded into two leaves and sewn together to form the book.

This is the first edition of the *Moralia* in Greek.

REFERENCES: Adams, P-1634; American STC Italian, 2:614; BM STC Italian, 527; Brunet, 4:732; Dibdin, 2:171; Geanakoplos [1962], 223–25; Grässe, 5:357; Hillyard, 527; Lowry, 239–40; Panzer, 8:397, no. 483; Renouard, 55, no. 1; UCLA, 84.

* * *

I 9 Pindar. *Works*
Callimachus. *Hymns*
Dionysius Periegetes. *Orbis terrae descriptio*
Lycophron. *Alexandra*

ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ.

Ολύμπια.
Ρύθια.
Νέμεα.
Ισθμια.
Κ αλμιάχου ὕμνοι, οἱ δὲ ἐρσκήμενοι.
Δ ιονυσίου περιήγησις.
Λ υκίφρονος ἀλεξάνδρα, τὸ σκοτεινὸν ποίημα.

PINDARI.

Olympia.
rythia.
Nemea.
Isthmia.
C allimachi hymni qui inueniuntur.
D ionysius de situ orbis.
L iaphronis Alexandra, obscurum poema.



COLOPHON: Venetijs in aedib. Aldi, et Andreae Asulani
Soceri, Mense Ianuario M.D.XIII. [1513, i.e., 1514?]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [16], 373, [1] p.; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: *⁸ 1–23⁸ 24⁺ (final blank leaf missing).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown goatskin, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded brown/green/yellow endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Simple gold tooling on board edges, turn-ins, and endcaps. Title gold-tooled onto spine. Bound by Sangorski and Sutcliffe, London.

Except for the *Hymns* of Callimachus, which is a reprint of the anonymous first edition probably printed around 1494 or 1496 in Florence, this edition is the *editio princeps* of all the works contained therein.

Pindar, the Boeotian lyric poet of the sixth century B.C., wrote victory odes for wealthy patrons who had won events at one of the four major athletic festivals of ancient Greece: the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian contests. The odes were collected into four books, each named after one of the contests. Aldus, in preparing the text for printing, used several manuscripts of varying quality: for the Olympian odes, he used a recent manuscript with a fairly poor text; the text he used for the Pythian and Nemean odes was quite good; the manuscript for the Isthmian odes, while old, was very corrupt (cf. Dibdin, 2:124; Renouard, 64). The Aldine edition remained the basis for all subsequent editions of Pindar until that of Buck was produced in 1811–21.

Callimachus (ca. 280–245 B.C.) has been called “the most outstanding intellect of his generation” (Easterling and Knox, 1:549) and was one of the most important figures in the development of Greco-Roman literature. Though he was not the librarian of the museum at Alexandria, as is sometimes thought, he was very instrumental in designing the organization of the library. His *Hymns* are the main surviving remains of his vast literary output. The text printed here is actually not very good, being simply a copy of the earlier Florence edition, and even this reprint is inaccurately printed.

Lycophron, also associated with the museum in the early third century B.C. as cataloger of comic works, wrote a long treatise on comedy and one of the first compilations of anagrams. His *Alexandra*, printed here, is an intricate, difficult, and *recherché* work. A report of the words of the doomed prophetess Cassandra (also known as Alexandra), the poem consists of nearly fifteen hundred iambic lines foretelling the fall of Troy and detailing the returns of the Greek leaders. Of interest in the poem is the earliest extant reference to Aeneas’s settlement of Latium (lines 1226–80), Rome’s foundation myth. Rome was in Lycophron’s time a new and growing power, but still essentially Italian rather than Mediterranean. Because of the early date of this reference, some scholars have challenged the attribution of the poem.

Dionysius Periegetes was a Greek geographer of the early second century A.D. who based his work on that of Eratosthenes (late third century B.C.), ignoring subsequent discoveries. For another Aldine edition of Dionysius, see NO. 63.

Aldus writes an extremely interesting preface to Andrea Navagero, an associate of his who had been instrumental in persuading him to return to printing after a hiatus of nearly three years. Between June 1509 and June 1512 Aldus was out of Venice; his main pursuit appears to have been an attempt to drum up enthusiasm and support for his academy (mentioned in the preface). During this time he visited scholars and men of influence all over northern Italy (Lowry, 160–61). Another reason for his absence was the extremely unstable situation in Italy due to the ongoing French invasions. As Aldus relates in the preface, an important purpose for his absence was to attempt to secure his war-ravaged estates outside Venice. The attempt was unsuccessful:

It has now been four years since I decided to neglect this hard profession of mine because I saw practically all of Italy burning with the cruelest war, and also since I was forced to leave Venice in order to recover my lands and valuable estates, which I lost not through any fault of mine, but because of these awful times. Although I got [to them] alive, the [new inhabitants] rudely said to me, “This land belongs to *me*. You former owners, get

out!" So since I was making no progress and my own ill luck and the fires of the war appeared to be starting all over again, which I had hoped would be extinguished any day, I return to Venice, which we might call "another Athens." . . . I changed my mind and have returned to my labors, labors which I know well now, after twenty years' experience, to be extremely difficult and almost too much for my strength. But I have long since made it a rule for myself never to avoid any inconvenience, expense, or labors, as long as I can be of use to men. I have bowed my head, my neck prepared to bear the yoke.

This passage has been important evidence for the chronology of the Aldine Press, as we can infer that Aldus began printing approximately twenty years before 1514. A date in the early 1490s is about right; although his first book was not printed until 1495, Aldus would have needed a considerable amount of lead time to prepare for the complex printing and publishing task he had set for himself (Fletcher, 39–41). In any case, it seems likely that the figure of twenty years offered by Aldus should be taken as approximate.

Aldus also uses the preface as a platform both to reiterate his program of the publication of the classics and to announce his plan to print a polyglot Bible:

It is my intention to publish the best books, both Greek and Latin, something I have often promised in the past, and put them into the hands of the studious. Thereafter I intend to undertake the Hebrew books as well, [printing them] parallel to our Holy books, which were translated from Hebrew to Greek and then from Greek to Latin, so that it will be possible to compare them, and if there are any errors (for they say there are very many) so that they might be removed, and this to the benefit and glory of the Christian religion. May God the Giver of Good Things look with favor on this enterprise.

The Bible was never printed, though Aldus did experiment with Hebrew type off and on during his career.

The signatures are signed with arabic numerals rather than letters. This was a very unusual practice, and not one that Aldus continued.

REFERENCES: Adams, P-1218; American STC Italian, 2:597; BM STC Italian, 520; Brunet, 4:657; Dibdin, 2:124; Easterling and Knox, 1:547–50; Fletcher, 39–41; Grässe, 5:293; Lowry, 160–61; Panzer, 8:412, no. 620; Renouard, 64, no. 9; UCLA, 92.

* * *

20 Musaeus. *De Herone et Leandro*

Μουσίου ποιημάτων τὰ περὶ Ἡρώ
καὶ Λέανδρον.
Ὁ ρήϊος ἄργοναυτικῆς.
Τὸ αὐτοῦ ὕμνοι.
Ὁ ρήϊος περὶ λίθων.

*Musæi opusculum de Herone
et Leandro.
Orphei argonauticæ.
Eiusdem hymni.
Orpheus de lapidibus.*



COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri
mense Nouembri M.D.XVII. [1517]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 80 leaves: ill. (woodcuts); 16 cm.
(8vo).



Andrea Torresani, 1517 *De Herone et Leandro* of Musaeus. Leaves 8v and 9r.

SIGNATURES: a-k⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red embossed leather, sewn on recessed cords. Cloth green/white endbands. Gilt edges. Gold- and blind-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, board edges, and turn-ins. Simple gold tooling on spine. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Musaeus Grammaticus, an epic poet of the late fifth century A.D., is renowned for the elaborate rhetorical display and design of his poetry. Julius Caesar Scaliger reserved his highest compliment for him: "I think Musaeus' style much neater and more polished than Homer's. . . . If Musaeus had written what Homer wrote, I believe he would have written it much better" (Scaliger, 215). His *Hero and Leander* is the story of two lovers on the Hellespont; during the sixteenth century it was "one of the most popular stories in Western European literature" (Braden, 55). Abraham Fraunce wrote in 1592 that "Leander and Heros love is in every mans mouth" (ibid.). Between its first publication in

Greek (the Aldine edition, 1494/5) and 1616, the date of Chapman's English translation, there were dozens of versions of the story in several languages.

The Aldine editions of Musaeus formed the basis of most of the popular editions until the seventeenth century. This may be attributed to the quality of the Aldine text and to the fact that the other noteworthy texts (principally those of Lascaris and Henri Estienne) had been printed without translations. Marcus Musurus, Greek scholar and friend to Aldus, provided the Latin translation. The 1517 Aldine edition contains two popular woodcuts on facing pages which depict Leander swimming the Hellespont and Hero throwing herself from a tower after viewing the dead body of her lover.

Although some believe that the undated first edition of *Hero and Leander* was the first work ever issued by the Aldine Press, this is not clear. Aldus himself, in his publisher's price list issued in October 1498, lists the work as number eight. He notes in his preface that his edition of Musaeus is a perfect introduction to his proposed edition of Aristotle, showing that it preceded

that edition. This being the case, it is an extremely early Aldine edition, probably printed in early 1495.

Included with the 1517 edition of Musaeus, described here, are the writings of Orpheus. Renaissance readers were intrigued by the mythical and magical properties attributed to the Orphic hymns; and as with the poetry of Musaeus, they felt that in reading them “they were communing with the spirit of poetry at its elemental source” (Levin, 161). Renouard states that the Orphic writings were copied from the 1500 Giunti edition given to Aldus. These texts are not accompanied by a Latin translation.

The 1517 edition of *Hero and Leander* contains Aldus’s original Greek preface and several textual emendations which he had made to the earlier edition. These corrections, though relatively insignificant with respect to the text, are important for the light they shed on Aldus as a printer and editor. He closely supervised both the actual printing and the textual editing, taking great pains to correct his books before allowing them to be sold to the public.

PROVENANCE: Henry J. B. Clements.

References: Adams, M-1991; American STC Italian, 2:440; BM STC Italian, 457; Brunet, 3:1957; Dibdin, 2:87; Grasse, 4:633; Panzer, 8:440, no. 851; Renouard, 81, no. 8; UCLA, 138.

* * *

21 Aeschylus. *Works*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri.
MDXVIII mense Februario [1518, i.e., 1519?]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 113, [1] leaves; 15 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: a–n⁸ o¹⁰.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum, sewn on recessed cords, with rolled brown cloth endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Red edges. Simple gold-tooling on spine. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΤΡΑΓΩΔΙΑΙ ΕΞ.

ΕΡΩΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ.

ΕΡΤΑ ΕΡΙΘΗΒΑΙΣ.

ΕΡΕΣΑΙ.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ΕΥΜΕΝΙΔΕΣ.

ΙΚΕΤΙΔΕΣ.

AESCHYLII TRAGOEDIAE SEX.



The 1518/19 Aldine edition is, surprisingly enough, the first printed edition of Aeschylus, the earliest of the three great Greek tragedians of the fifth century B.C. Printed within a few years of the death of Aldus while the impetus of his program of publication of the Greek and Latin classics was still an important factor in the firm’s selection decisions, the book contains an enthusiastic preface by Francesco Torresani declaring an intent to continue Aldus’s program:

I suppose that none of you is unaware of the drive and enthusiasm that my brother-in-law Aldus felt for the advancement of letters. . . . Now that he is dead this same drive so consumes us that it increases day by day, and no amount of work or expense can keep us from this purpose. We are all united in this, my father Andrea, my brother Federico, and I, and we are devoting ourselves to this alone: the production of useful works for all studious men. We are not ashamed of anything that we have produced so far. Many books, both in Latin

and Greek, have been published by our firm since the death of Aldus. Few, it would seem, could be improved at all. We will not be dissuaded from our set purpose of publishing all the Latin and Greek authors.

There is a certain amount of unintended irony in this declaration, particularly in the boast about the quality of the works produced since the death of Aldus. It is generally agreed that this edition of Aeschylus is one of the worst Aldines ever produced. The Aeschylean specialist M. L. West is representative of the widespread criticism:

In was just at this time, in 1518, that the first printed edition of Aeschylus appeared: the Aldine, edited by Franciscus Asulanus [Francesco Torresani]. This was a man to whom tragic Greek was evidently a total mystery. At any rate he allowed a great quantity of gibberish to be printed, and so seldom shows any sign of an attempt to make sense of it that when he does put something right one is amazed, and tempted to ascribe it to a lucky misprint. (West, 357)

The most famous of this “gibberish” arises from the fact that Torresani did not notice that his manuscript was defective, with the first play of the *Oresteia*, the *Agamemnon*, missing everything from lines 1160 to the end, and the second, the *Choephoroi*, missing the first part. Torresani joined the two as if they were a single play without so much as a break at the point of the lacuna. Hence the number of plays announced in the title is six rather than the standard seven.

It must be said in Torresani’s defense that the text of Aeschylus is quite difficult. We still do not possess the first part of the *Choephoroi*, although there were manuscripts available even in Torresani’s day containing all of *Agamemnon*. There remain many passages in Aeschylus which are quite opaque because of difficulties with the manuscript tradition. Nevertheless, even during the sixteenth century it was recognized that the Aldine was a terrible edition. Surprisingly, however, no one printed an improved edition for a generation after this *editio princeps*. The next printing of a work by Aeschylus was an edition of *Prometheus Bound* printed in Paris by Chrestien Wechel in 1548 for the Greek teacher Jean

Dorat, who needed a text for his lectures. The complete text of *Agamemnon* was not printed until 1557, by Henri Estienne in Geneva.

REFERENCES: Adams, A-262; American STC Italian, 1:15; BM STC Italian, 8; Brunet, 1:77; Dibdin, 1:126–27; Grässe, 1:29; Gruys, 17–21; Panzer, 8:446, no. 907; Renouard, 85, no. 9; UCLA, 143.

* * *

LATIN CLASSICS

22 Ovid. *Works*

COLOPHON (vol. 1): Venetiis in aedib. Aldi. mense Octobri. M.DII. [1502]

COLOPHON (vol. 2): Venetiis in aedibus Aldi Romani, mense Decembri. M.DII. [1502]

COLOPHON (vol. 3 *Fasti*): Venetiis in Aldi Romani Academiae mense Ianuario. M.DII. [1502, i.e., 1503]

COLOPHON (vol. 3 *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*): Venetijs in Academia Aldi mense Febr. M.DIII. [1503]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 3 v.; 16 cm. (8vo).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vol. 1 (*Metamorphoses*): Red goatskin, sewn on recessed cords, with single front-beaded yellow/red/green endbands. Marbled endpapers and paste-downs. Gilt edges. False bands on the spine, simple gold tooling on turn-ins, board edges, and endcaps. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto green leather label on spine. Spine misnumbered vol. II.

Vol. 2 (*Epistulae*): Red goatskin, sewn on recessed cords, with single front-beaded yellow/red/green endbands. Marbled endpapers and paste-downs. Gilt edges. False bands on the spine, simple gold tooling on turn-ins, board edges, and endcaps. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto green leather label on spine. Spine misnumbered vol. I.

Vol. 3 (*Fasti*): Red goatskin, sewn on recessed cords, with single front-beaded yellow/red/green endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. False bands on the spine, simple gold-tooling on turn-ins, board edges, and endcaps. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto green leather label on spine.

QVAE HOC VOLVMINE CON-
TINENTVR.

Ad Marinum Sannutum Epistola qui apud græ-
cos scripserint μεταμορφώσις.

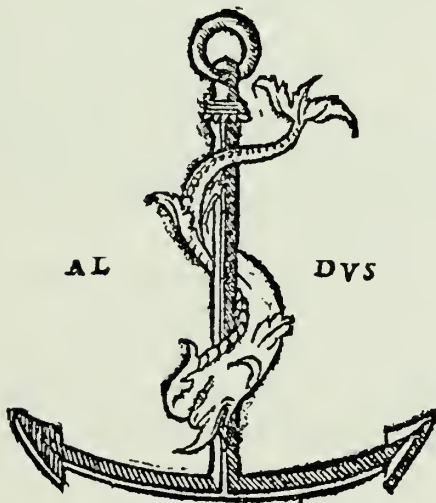
Aldo privilegium concessum ad reip. literariæ uti-
litatem.

Orthographia dictionum græcarum per ordi-
nem literarum.

Vita Ouidij ex ipsius operib.

Index fabularum et cæterorum, quæ insunt hoc
libro secundum ordinem alphabeti.

OVIDII METAMORPHOSEON
LIBRI QVINDECIM.



Title page to vol. 1.

The poet Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 17/18) was a controver-
sial figure in his own lifetime, enduring his last days in
exile on the Black Sea apparently in part for his *Ars*
Amatoria, a book of witty instructions for aspiring lovers,
both male and female. Controversy—and popularity—
followed the career of Ovid's works through the Middle

Ages to the Renaissance; and in the fifteenth century, at
the time of the development of printing, Ovid was
second only to Virgil as the poet the reading public was
most fond of. His works, however, were not only read
but were often attacked for being indecent. Still, their
publication represented a sure seller for a printer; and
thus one of the earliest octavos printed by Aldus is this
edition of Ovid.

In his dedication of the first volume, the
Metamorphoses, to Marino Sannudo, Aldus, always
prepared for self-advertisement, takes this opportunity to
remind his readers of the convenience of his new octavo
format, which he calls here "hasce portatili forma
Metamorphoseis Ouidij." Detailed indexes follow of the
Latin and Greek forms of the names in the work; pref-
aced to a second index are instructions to the owner of
the book to add the page numbers so that the index will
be usable.⁷ (The original owner of BYU's copy has, in
fact, added the pagination.) This stems back to the prac-
tice with handwritten manuscripts, where the reader was
expected to add his own foliation. None of the books
published by Aldus in 1502 are paginated or foliated;
after 1503, most are (cf. Saenger and Heinlein, 252).

Aldus's privilege from the doge of Venice is also
included in this publication; it is dated November 1502,
one month after the date of the colophon. This privilege
takes note of the many contributions Aldus has made to
the city of Venice, mentioning in particular his designs of
greek and italic typefaces, which it is forbidden to anyone
in the realm to use or imitate. A fine for violation is
prescribed, the proceeds of which are to go in part to the
feeding of the orphans of the city.

REFERENCES: Adams, O-423; American STC Italian, 2:493;
BM STC Italian, 479; Brunet, 4:269; Grässe, 5:68;
Hindman, 252; Panzer, 8:355, no. 133; Renouard, 37–38,
nos. 12–14; Saenger and Heinlein, 225–58; UCLA, 52–54.



23 Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius

CATVLLVS.

TIBVLLVS-

PROPETIVS.

COLOPHON: Venetiis in Aedibus Aldi, mense Ianuario.
M.DII. [1502, i.e. 1503?]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [152] leaves; 17 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: A-E⁸ F⁴ A-D⁸ E⁴ a-j⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Original brown calfskin boards, rebaked with brown sheepskin, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded green/white endbands. Pink silk page marker. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns, marbled edges. Simple gold tooling on front and back covers and spine. Title gold-tooled onto red leather label on spine.

The poets Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius have usually been grouped together since Wendelin of Speyer's 1472 Venetian *editio princeps*. Catullus (ca. 84-54 B.C.) wrote poems varying both in meter and subject, often addressed to his mistress Lesbia. Tibullus (ca. 50-19 B.C.) wrote love poems and poems in praise of the soldier-statesman Messalla in elegiac meter; the third book which has come down to us in his *corpus* is actually a collection of poems by members of Messalla's literary circle. Propertius, who was born about the same time as Tibullus, died before 2 B.C. He also wrote love poetry in elegiac meter, and became a part of the circle of the wealthy statesman Maecenas.

The manuscript tradition of all three poets is poor, and they therefore received a great deal of attention from the Renaissance humanists. Catullus had only recently been rediscovered, in 1375, in a single corrupt manuscript which has since perished. For the

next century and a half a variety of readers made attempts at emending the text or otherwise resolving the numerous problems. Toward the end of this period a young scholar, Girolamo Avanzi, turned his attention to Catullus, publishing a set of emendations as well as an edition of Catullus in 1500 with the Venetian printer Johannes Tacuinus. He continued his work on the poet after this and thus became a logical choice for editor when Aldus produced his edition in 1502/3. This edition was far superior to its predecessors (a fact of which both Aldus and Avanzi boast in their prefaces⁸), and this, together with an unusually large press run, ensured its influence on the text of Catullus from then on.

Catullus, usually with Tibullus and Propertius, was reprinted frequently by the press. The BYU collection owns, in addition to the 1502/3 edition, the 1515, 1554, 1558, 1562, and 1566 editions.

REFERENCES: Adams, C-1137; American STC Italian, 1:383; BM STC Italian, 160; Brunet, 1:1677; Fletcher, 100-06; Gaisser, 24-65; Grässe, 2:86; Panzer, 8:353, no. 121; Renouard, 39, no. 16; UCLA, 40.

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24 Pliny the Younger. *Works* *De viris illustribus* Suetonius. *De claris grammaticis et rhetoribus* Julius Obsequens. *Prodigiorum liber*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedib. Aldi, et Andreae Asulani
soceri. Me[n]se Nouembri. M.D.VIII. [1508]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [24], 525 p.; 17 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: *⁸ 2*⁴ a-2k⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: White alum-tawed pigskin, sewn on double raised cords, with single front-beaded, natural linen endbands. Natural linen braided tackets at the head and tail. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Ring and pin clasps. Raised cords blind-decorated with tie-up cords. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Pliny the Younger (ca. A.D. 61–ca.112) became a relatively important Roman official during his life but is best known today for his elegantly crafted letters to a broad circle of acquaintances covering subjects from business affairs to personal observations to short essays on subjects of interest to the author. Pliny prepared the letters himself for publication, and they appeared at intervals during his own lifetime.

C. PLINII SECVNDI NOVOCOMENSIS

*epistolarũ libri Decem, in quibus multæ habentur
epistolæ non ante impressæ. Tum Græcæ corre-
ctæ, et suis locis restitutæ, atq; reiectis adulterinis,
uera repositæ. Item fragmentatæ epistolæ, inte-
græ factæ. In medio etiã epistolæ libri octau-
i de Clitumno fonte non solum uertici calx additus,
et cala uertex, sed decem quoq; epistolæ interpo-
sitæ, ac ex Nono libro Octauus factus, et ex octa-
uo Nonus, idq; beneficio exẽplarũ correctissimũ,
et miræ, ac potius uenerandæ uetustatis.*

Eiusdem Panegyricus Traiano Imp dictus.

Eiusdem de Viris illustribus in Re militari, et in ad-
ministranda Rep.

Suetonii Tráquilli de claris Græmaticis et Rhetorib.

Iulii Obsequentis Prodigiorum liber.

Epistolæ decem libri ad Traianum probantur esse
Plinii in sequenti epistola. Inibi etiã liber de Vi-
ris illustribus, nõ Tranqlli, sed Plinii esse õnditur.

The 1508 Aldine edition is the first publication of all ten books of letters. This represented quite a coup for Aldus, as the manuscript tradition for Pliny had up to that time existed only in fragmentary state. However, around 1501 rumors began to circulate about a complete manuscript of the letters, and Aldus sent out agents to try to procure it. By 1504 Aldus had a copy of the manuscript, and in 1506 he received the manuscript itself. In his preface, Aldus enthusiastically describes how Alvisse Mocenigo obtained it for him in France, a vellum manuscript (“in membrana scriptas”) written in a difficult hand (“diuersis a nostris characteribus”) which Aldus believed was so old and accurate that it must have originated in the time of Pliny himself. He also

mentions that Giovanni Giocondo had brought him six other partial copies of Pliny, some of them manuscripts and some printed editions; it was from the French manuscript and these other sources that he constructed his text. He notes the scholarly controversy over the authenticity of the “new” letters and proudly announces them, as well as the *De viris illustribus*, to be authentic, based on his own research.

The important manuscript Aldus used disappeared immediately after the publication of the 1508 edition of Pliny; at the time, once a manuscript had been transferred to print its importance was discounted and it was often thrown away.⁹ This edition thus retains great importance today to textual critics in establishing the text of Pliny. In its own time, it was singled out for special praise by Erasmus in his *Adagia*, who speaks of other printed editions with disdain (*Adagia* 2.1.1, in *CWE*, 33:10).

The 1508 Pliny is also of importance to students of the Aldine Press, because its colophon contains the first public mention of the partnership between Aldus and his father-in-law Andrea Torresani, more than a decade after its establishment. Also of interest is the fact that this is the first Aldine to number pages as opposed to leaves. In this first experiment, both even and odd pages were numbered at the upper right-hand corner, putting the even numbers in the gutter. Thereafter, Aldus numbered even pages at the upper left-hand corner.

The inclusion in this edition of the prodigy list of Julius Obsequens (perhaps fourth century A.D.) is also of great textual importance, since the unique manuscript which Aldus used has again not survived, leaving the 1508 Aldine edition the only evidence for this work. The BYU library also owns the 1518 Aldine edition.

REFERENCES: Adams, P-1536; American STC Italian, 2:611; BM STC Italian, 525; Brunet, 4:721; Case; Fletcher, 112–115; Grässe, 5:345; Lowe, 24, no. 1660; Lowe and Rand; Merril; Panzer, 8:447, no. 909; Renouard, 53, no. 3; Reynolds 196, 320; Winship; UCLA, 82.

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* *
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*

Q. Horatii Flacci poemata, in quibus multa correctata sunt, & institutiones suis locis posita, commentariorum quodammodo uice funguntur.

Vnde uiginti metrorum genera, et quænam sint, & e quibus constent pedibus, et ante uolumen simul habentur, et intus in uolumine suis locis.

Adnotationes nonnullæ in toto opere, in quibus uel aliquid mutandum ostenditur, uel cur mutatum sit, ratio redditur.



COLOPHON: Venetiis apud Aldum Romanum mense Martio. M.D.IX. [1509]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [46], 310 p.; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: 1–28 a⁸ (a⁸ blank, missing) b–u⁸ x⁴ (x⁴ blank).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Tan sheepskin, sewn on single raised cords, with double, front-beaded, green/yellow/red endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, spine panels between the raised cords, turn-ins, board edges, and endcaps. Title gold-tooled onto black leather label on spine.

The lyric poet Horace (65–8 B.C.) was a member of the Augustan circle of literary figures at the beginning of the Roman Empire. Although his meters were often

complex and difficult, his works were extremely popular throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and as such represented a big seller for a printer. This is the second Aldine edition, and the press subsequently published twelve more, in addition to four editions of the *Ars poetica*.

The preface is dedicated to Geoffroy Charles, president of the senate of Milan and a friend and benefactor of Aldus. In 1506 Aldus had left Venice in search of reliable manuscripts. During the early summer he visited Carpi, Asola, Milan and Cremona. By July 16 he was riding back to Asola accompanied by a distant relative, Federigo da Ceresara. Federigo had earlier had a serious brush with the legal authorities in Mantuan territory; so when the two were approached by border guards as they neared Asola, Federigo panicked and fled with Aldus's horse and belongings, much to the printer's astonishment. The guards thereupon arrested Aldus, and he was imprisoned for the next six days. As he tells the story in the preface to this edition of Horace:

Three years have now passed, my dear Charles, since you took me into the circle of your friends, and were so glad to see me at Milan that you even invited me to be your guest—such is your courtesy—when many of your learned friends were dining together. . . . A few days later, when I was hastening from Cremona to Asola through the territory of Mantua, Mantuan soldiers, out to arrest some scoundrels who were supposed to be passing through on horseback that day, arrested me by mistake! They kept me imprisoned at Canneto, about twenty miles from Mantua. You happened to be in Mantua on a royal mission. As soon as you found out what was going on . . . you yourself, with all your horsemen—and indeed with numerous other Mantuan nobles—rushed out to the town and freed me (the accused), and provided pocket money, clothes, horses, and whatever else had been taken away from me. . . . I have not forgotten, Geoffroy Charles, your kindness to me and have often considered how I could thank you. At length I decided that as I was about to publish a new edition of the poetry of Horace I would publish it under your name, in order that as Horace himself dedicated his composition to his . . . benefactor Maecenas, I likewise dedicate . . . my work to you, my savior.

Aldus claims that although he has just printed Horace eight years previously, this edition has been greatly expanded and corrected. In fact, it is almost an exact reprint of the 1501 edition. Aldus does add, however, a lengthy essay on difficulties in Horace's meters.

The volume concludes with a notice of Aldus's copyright forbidding anyone—"noble, scholar, man on the street, printer, merchant or servant"¹⁰—to touch his italic type ("id genus characteres").

REFERENCES: Adams, H-858; American STC Italian, 2:135; BM STC Italian, 333; Brunet, 3:312; Fletcher, 11-12; Grässe, 3:348; Lowry, 96-97; Panzer, 8:397, no. 484; Pastorello, 157-59, 196; Renouard, 56, no. 2; UCLA, 85.

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26 Julius Caesar. *Works*

HOC VOLUMINE CONTINENTUR HAEC.

Commentariorum de bello Gallico	libri VIII
De bello civili pompeiano.	libri IIII.
De bello Alexandrino.	liber I.
De bello Africano.	liber I.
De bello Hispanensi.	liber I.

Victoria totius Galliae, diuisa in partes tres, secundum C. Caesaris Commentarios.

Nomina locorum, urbiumq; et populorum Galliae, ut olim dicebantur latine, et nunc dicuntur gallice, secundum ordinem alphabeti.

Victoria Pontis in Rheno. Item Avarici. Alexie: vxelloduni. Massiliae

Litterae Max. Pontificum, ne quis libros cura nostra excuso: imprimat, uendat ue ex: ut in literis sub poena excommunicationis lata sententia.



COLOPHON (leaf 264v): Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri M.DXIII. mense Aprili. [1513]

COLOPHON (leaf 296r): Venetijs in aedibus Aldi & Andreae Soceri.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [20], 296 leaves: ill. (woodcuts); 17 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: A-B⁸ C⁴ a-2k⁸ (2k7 blank) 2l-2o⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Black embossed leather, sewn on single raised cords, with navy/gold single front-beaded endbands. Navy silk page marker. Gilt edges. Simple gold tooling on front and back covers. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, simple gold tooling on board edges, turn-ins and spine. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Caesar's *Commentaries* are his own third-person account of his activities as general in the Roman wars for the conquest of Gaul (58-52 B.C.) and in the Roman civil war against Pompey (49-48 B.C.). Caesar's Latin style was considered from antiquity to be a brilliant model of simplicity and good taste, and for this reason Caesar is to this day one of the first authors students of Latin read.

The 1513 edition was the first Aldine edition of Caesar, to be followed by many more. Aldus included a map of Gaul and Germany, stenciled with colors at the time of publication in order to make the divisions easier to recognize, as Aldus explains in his preface.¹¹ The original plan was to use six colors—purple, saffron, red, yellow, green and blue—and many copies follow this plan. The stenciling in the BYU copy includes three colors only: red for Belgium; green for southeastern Gaul; and the seas appear to have a very light yellow tint, the original blue possibly having faded over the years. The 1513 edition of Caesar is the only Aldine edition with colored maps.

Leaves A3v and A4v have been corrected by hand (three words being deleted), and the woodcuts on leaf C1 have been labeled "Massilia" and "Uxellodunum." The latter corrections were made because the woodcuts were inadvertently printed backwards and do not corre-



Aldus Manutius, 1513 Caesar. Leaves a2r-a3r.

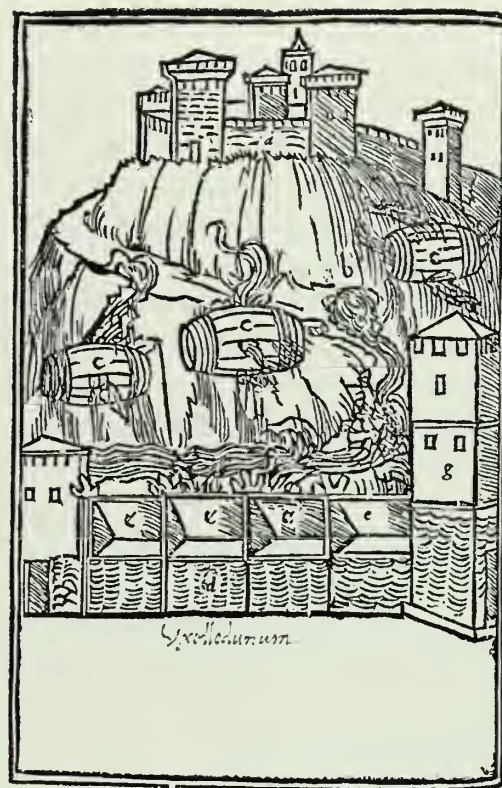
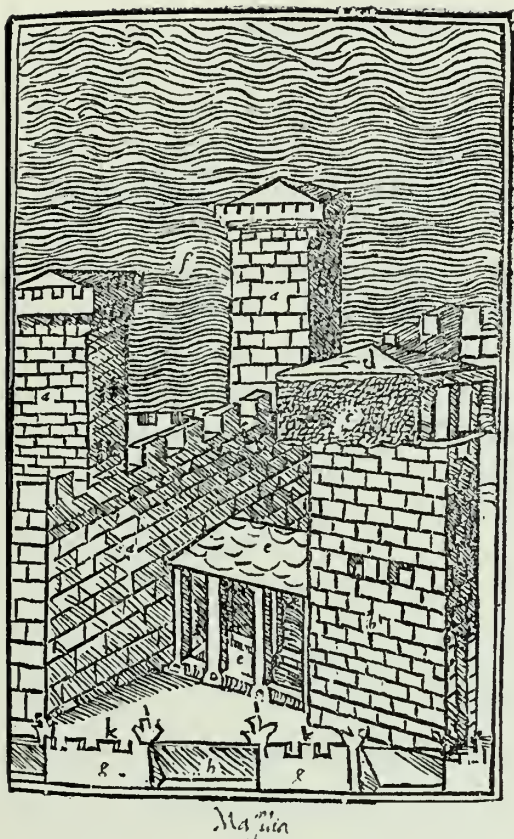
spond to the explanations on the facing pages. Renouard claims that these corrections are in Aldus's own hand. While he offers no proof of this, they were certainly made at the time of publication, since they occur in most extant copies (cf. Fletcher, 116-18).

Included with this first edition are letters from Pope Alexander VI, dated December 1502, and Pope Julius II, dated January 1503. These are general letters which Aldus secured as part of his ongoing efforts to protect his copyright warning that any unauthorized edition of his work in Italy would be punished by excommunication. Such measures evidently had little effect, since a Giunti edition flagrantly copying the Aldine came out in 1514, and many other printers also produced imitations of their own.

The Aldine Press published Caesar many times. The Harold B. Lee Library holds the 1513, 1519, 1559, 1566, 1571, 1575, and 1588 editions, as well as an Italian translation published by Paulus Manutius in 1547.

REFERENCES: Adams, C-26; American STC Italian, 1:320; BM STC Italian, 135; Brenzoni, 92-94, 97; Brunet, 1:1453; Fletcher, 116-19; Grässe, 2:6; Mortimer, vol. 1, no.96; Panzer, 8:412, no. 622; Renouard, 60, no. 1; Sander, vol. 1, no. 1504; UCLA, 99.

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Aldus Manutius, 1513 Caesar. Leaves C1r–C1v.

27 Marcus Tullius Cicero. *Epistolae familiares*

M. T. C. EPISTOLAE FAMILIARES.

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedib. Aldi, mense Aprili.
M.DII. [1502]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [267] leaves; 15 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: a–2k⁸ 21⁴ (final blank leaf missing).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red goatskin, sewn on recessed cords,
with single front-beaded red/yellow/green endbands.
Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt marbled edges.

Red/yellow/green page marker. False bands on spine, gold-
tooled with ornaments on turn-ins. Simple gold tooling on
board edges and endcaps. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Cicero (106–43 B.C.) was considered the epitome of good latinity during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and his collections of letters were especially important as models for correct grammar and style. It is thus natural that the humanist Aldus Manutius should print editions of Cicero. The only surprise is that Aldus waited until 1502 to print his first edition, and then only the *Epistolae familiares*. In the preface Aldus promises that he will soon print the letters to Atticus, and then the other works, but these came out piecemeal, with the letters to Atticus not published until 1513, after the second edition of the *Epistolae familiares* was published in 1512.

Aldus dedicates this volume to Sigismund Thurz, a Hungaro-Polish *homme d'affaires* who had encouraged him to publish the works of Cicero. In the preface, Aldus states that he is publishing the *Epistolae* at this

time in part because of this encouragement but that he is not ready to publish all of Cicero's works yet. Even if he were, publication of them in the traditional large format would mean that busy people like Thurz would not be able to use them: "Occupied with your own and state business as you are, you would not be able to spend time studying in libraries." But the new octavo format can be taken out of libraries, Aldus reasons, the better to fit into the lifestyle of Thurz and other businessmen and diplomats. "We give you Cicero's *Epistolae familiares* now, and soon will give you those to Atticus and then the rest [of the letters]; then all [of Cicero's] works worth reading. We will take care to furnish, Lord willing, portable libraries, both Latin and Greek. We have lavished great care on these *Epistolae familiares*, so that they come out of our *thermae* as correct as possible. You will undoubtedly recognize this in reading them." Thus Aldus states his intention in creating the octavo format for classical texts.

The *thermae* in question have caused some debate, as it is not entirely clear what Aldus means when he refers to them here and in three other places between 1498 and 1504. Various interpretations of the term that have been offered range from stoves—needed to heat the establishment in the winter, dry the paper or ink, or cast the type—to the heat of the physical exertions of the pressmen. As *thermae* is a perfectly good Latin/Greek term meaning hot springs or baths, later extended to mean other establishments associated with baths, such as gymnasia and taverns (*thermopolia*), Fletcher's guess that Aldus's establishment was in a building where a bathhouse or tavern might once have been seems plausible.

REFERENCES: BM STC Italian, 178; Brunet, 2:45; Grässe, 2:167; Fletcher, 60–61; Lowry, 287; Panzer, 8:354, no. 127; Renouard, 33, no. 2; UCLA, 43.

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28 Marcus Tullius Cicero. *Rhetorical works* *Rhetorica ad Herennium*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri
mense Martio M.D.XIII. [1514]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [6], 245, [3] leaves; 23 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: *⁶ a–k⁸ l⁴ m–z⁸ A–H⁸ I⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Original brown calfskin boards rebaked with brown sheepskin spine, sewn on double raised leather thongs, with single front-beaded tan/natural endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns, yellow sprinkled edges. Missing clasps, two on the front and back boards, one head, one tail. Blind-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers. Title gold-tooled onto brown leather label pasted on spine.

IN HOC VOLVGINE HAE C CONTINENTVR.

<i>Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium</i>	lib. III
<i>M. T. Ciceronis de inuentione</i>	lib. II.
<i>Eiusdem de oratore ad Quintum fratrem</i>	lib. III.
<i>Eiusdem de claris oratoribus, qui dicitur Brutus</i>	lib. I.
<i>Eiusdem Orator ad Brutum</i>	lib. I.
<i>Eiusdem Topica ad Trebatium</i>	lib. I.
<i>Eiusdem oratoriae partitiones</i>	lib. I.
<i>Eiusdem de optimo genere oratorum praefatio quaedam.</i>	



Hos libros etiam, Pontificum Alexandri, Iulij, ac Leonis
denum decretis, nequis alius usquā lo-
rum impune imprimat, cautum est.

This edition of Cicero's rhetorical works and of the anonymous *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium* was the first of no less than nine to come from the Aldine Press, not including various editions of the separate works and the

1583 edition of Cicero's complete works. The BYU collection includes the 1514, 1521, 1533, 1546, 1550, 1559, 1564, and 1569 editions.

Of particular interest in the 1514 edition, repeated in those of 1521 and 1533, is the dedication Aldus writes to his friend Andrea Navagero. Navagero was a close associate of Aldus during the last years of his life, and Aldus credits him, in the preface to the 1513 edition of Pindar (NO. 19), with having persuaded him to return to Venice in 1512 to continue publishing after temporarily leaving the business. Navagero became responsible for much of the editing of Latin works published in Aldus's later years and so presumably was not the target of his complaint in this dedication:

Two things—aside from 600 others—keep me from my work with their continual interruptions: first, the constant letters from learned men, sent to me from all sides: whole days and nights would be taken up in writing back if I were to respond to them all; and second, those who drop by, some just to chat, others to see what new work is going on, and others—by far the largest crowd—since they have nothing better to do say “Well, then, let's go visit Aldus!” So they come in droves and sit around, gaping, like “a leech that's not about to let go of your skin until it's full of blood.”¹²

I won't mention those who come to recite a poem or some prose composition, usually a rough first draft (the labor and delay of polishing is presumably too much for them), which they expect me to publish. . . . But I have begun to rid myself of these vexatious interruptions. I either do not respond at all to those who write me if they have nothing important to say, or if the messages are important, I respond briefly. I don't do this because I am proud or vain, but so that I can have some time to edit good books. I ask that nobody take this badly. . . .

As for those who drop in to chat, or for any other reason, I have taken care to warn them no longer to make nuisances of themselves or rudely interrupt my work and thought. I have set the following warning above the door to my office:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: ALDUS ASKS YOU AGAIN AND AGAIN THAT IF YOU WANT ANYTHING FROM HIM YOU MAKE IT BRIEF AND THEN LEAVE DIRECTLY, UNLESS

YOU HAVE COME, LIKE HERCULES, TO HOLD UP THE ARMS OF AN EXHAUSTED ATLAS. THERE WILL ALWAYS BE WORK FOR YOU TO DO HERE, AND FOR AS MANY OTHERS WHO WALK IN, TOO.

REFERENCES: Adams, C-1676; American STC Italian, 1:412; Brunet, 2:28; Fletcher, 17–18; Grässe, 2:159; Lowry, 165–66; Oswald, 130; Panzer, 8:420, no. 683; Renouard, 65, no. 1; Robertson, 57–73; UCLA, 102.

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29 *Libri de re rustica*
Marcus Porcius Cato. *De agri cultura*
Marcus Terentius Varro. *Rerum rusticarum libri tres*
Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella. *De re rustica*
Rutillius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius. *De re rustica*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri mense Maio M.D.XIII. [1514]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [34], 308 leaves: ill. (woodcuts); 21 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: *⁸ 2a–2b⁸ 2c¹⁰ a–h⁸ i⁴ k–z⁸ A–Q⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum, sewn on recessed cords, with single front-beaded natural linen laced-in endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Blue edges. Title calligraphed onto spine.

This collection of four ancient writers, dealing with agricultural topics, was frequently published in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and is often referred to as the *Scriptores rei rusticae*. Cato, the earliest of the four authors, lived during the first half of the second century B.C., and was famous for his implacable hatred of Rome's vanquished enemy, Carthage. He was a prolific writer, but very little of his output survives. *De agri cultura* was written about 160 B.C. from his own experience as a gentleman farmer in central Italy.

Varro's life spanned the first three quarters of the first century B.C. A partisan of Pompey during the Roman civil war, he was pardoned by Caesar, who put him in charge of the planned public library at Rome. After Caesar's death he devoted himself to the scholarly life. Of his many writings, *Rerum rusticarum libri tres* is one of only two to survive.

LIBRI DE RE RVSTICA

M. CATONIS	LIB. I.
M. TERENTII VARRONIS	LIB. III.
L. IVNII MODERATI COLV-	
MELLAE	LIB. XII.

Eiusdem de arboribus liber separatus ab alijs, quare autem id factum fuerit: ostenditur in epistola ad lectorem.

PALLADI

LIB. XIII.

De duobus dierum generibus: simulq; de umbris, et horis, quae apud Palladium, in alia epistola ad lectorem.

Georgij Alexandrini enarrationes priscarum dictionum, quae in his libris Catonis; Varronis; Columellae.

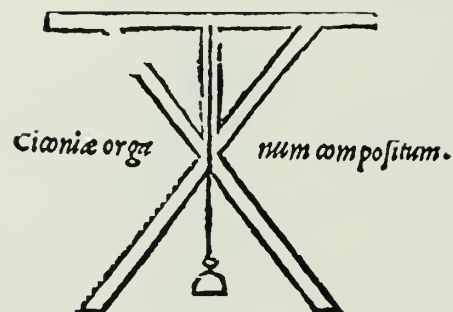
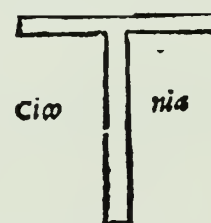


Hos libros Pontificis etiam Leonis decreto, nequis alius usquam locorum imprimat, cautum est.

Columella was a Roman from Spain of the first century A.D. His family owned land in both Spain and central Italy. *De re rustica* was written between A.D. 60 and 65; like Cato, he wrote from the standpoint of an experienced upper-class farmer. An important theme in his work is his concern over the decline of agriculture in Italy.

The later writer Palladius also wrote from experience, being the possessor of farming land in Italy and Sardinia. His fourth-century work consists of fourteen books, one for each month of the year plus an introduction and final book on the care of animals.

The 1514 Aldine edition was edited by Giovanni Giocondo, one of Aldus's regular editors, and the man who had been instrumental in helping Aldus obtain the manuscript for the 1508 printing of Pliny. This edition includes a dedication by Giocondo to Pope Leo X, who had given Aldus a fifteen-year privilege, also printed here, protecting all he had printed or would print using any type he had invented or might invent. Also included are two prefaces by Aldus to the reader, introducing the work and extolling the virtues of the rustic life.



Woodcut of "ciconia" (a measuring tool) and plumb line illustrating Columella, in 1514 *Libri de re rustica*. Leaf 105v (cf. 1533 ed. leaf 103v).

REFERENCES: Brunet, 5:246; Grässe, 6:331; Panzer, 8:420, no. 685; Renouard, 66, no. 2; UCLA, 103.

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- 30 *Libri de re rustica*
 Marcus Porcius Cato. *De agri cultura*
 Marcus Terentius Varro. *Rerum rusticarum libri tres*
 Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella. *De re rustica*
 Rutillius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius. *De re rustica*

LIBRI DE RE RVSTICA.

M. CATONIS	LIB. I.
M. TERENTII VARRONIS	LIB. III.
L. IUNII MODERATI COLUMELLAE	LIB. XII.
Eiusdem de arboribus liber separatus ab alijs.	
PALLADII	LIB. XIII.
De duobus dierum generibus: simulq; de umbris, & horis, quæ apud Palladium.	
Index omnium fere rerum, quæ in his libris situ digna leguntur.	
Index graecarum dictionum.	
Enarrationes priscae uocum per ordinem literarum digestæ.	



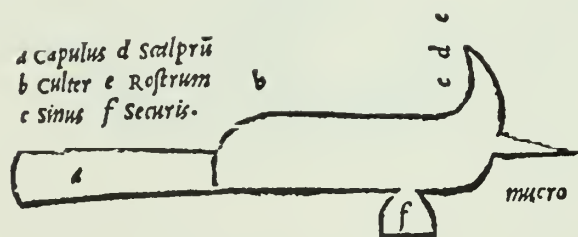
COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus haeredum Aldi, et Andreae soceri, mense Decembri M.D.XXXIII. [1533]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [54], 295, [1] leaves: ill. (woodcuts); 22 cm. (4to). Errors in foliation: 140 (=130); 203 (=211); 204 (=202); 205 (=213); 206 (=204); 247 (=248); 255 (=245); 259 (=295).

SIGNATURES: *4 A–E⁸ F¹⁰ a–z⁸ A–O⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown sprinkled calf, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded faded red/yellow/green worked endbands. Paste-decorated and printed endpapers and pastedowns. Gilded edges. Simple gold tooling on front and back covers. Gold-tooled ornaments on front, back, spine, board edges, and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

The 1533 *Libri de re rustica* is essentially a reprint of the 1514 Aldine edition (NO. 29) with some corrections to the text taken from the 1521 Giunti edition (Florence). The Giunti edition included, in addition to the four authors here published, the commentary of Fortunatus on Columella. A note in the 1533 Aldine edition somewhat glibly explains that this has been omitted from the present edition because Fortunatus “hardly seemed worthy to be added as an interpreter of such an outstanding writer, and it seemed that he would obstruct rather than help your study. We wish to publish nothing from our firm for you except that which bears fruit and is not of minimal use” (v. of leaf [5]).



Woodcut of sickle illustrating Columella, in 1533 *Libri de re rustica*. Leaf 117
 (cf. 1514 ed. leaf 119).

Comparison of the 1533 edition with the 1514 edition is of interest as an example of the reprint practice of the Aldine publishing house. The 1533 edition lacks the privilege statement (the fifteen years having passed), but the press improved the book by the addition of an index. In the text of the ancient authors, the 1533 press workers got more text to the page by setting the type closer and adding one line to each page (the

1514 edition has 39 lines per page; the 1533 has 40). This represents a modest saving in paper: there are 308 pages of text in the 1514 edition, 295 in the 1533. Comparison of the woodcuts illustrating Columella show that the same blocks were used for the later edition as had been used in 1514 (though the printed captions have been reset): evidently the blocks had been stored at the shop for nearly twenty years, presumably with an eye to an eventual reprint. Perhaps most intriguing, however, is the reprint of the second Aldus preface from the 1514 edition (no other prefatory matter is reprinted). Here no attempt is made to compress the type; the text is reset letter for letter in exactly the same position on the page as the earlier edition. This meant that the compositor did not need the entire text at the same time in order to set up the new pages: instead, he could be given individual pages from the original to reproduce, even if they began in mid-sentence. The danger of this method of operation is shown in this reprint, for the pages have been printed out of order. The second page of the preface has been printed as the fourth page in the 1533 edition, no doubt causing considerable confusion to the reader.

REFERENCES: Adams, S-812; American STC Italian, 3:152; Brunet, 5:246; Grässe, 6:331; Panzer, 8:532, no. 1680; Renouard, 109, no. 9; UCLA, 228.

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3 I Lucretius. *De rerum natura*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri mense Ianuario M.D.XV. [1515]

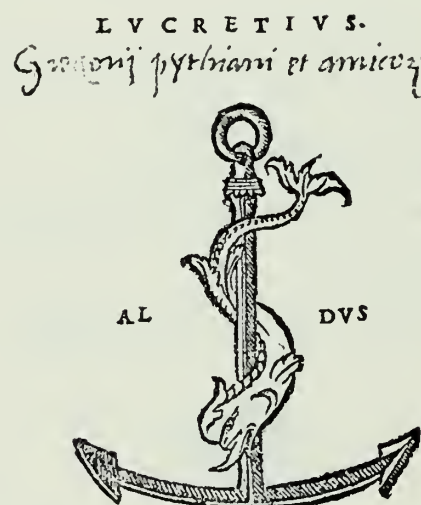
PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [8], 125, [2] leaves + blank leaves interleaved between printed leaves; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: *8 (*8 blank, missing) a–q⁸ (q7–8 blank except for device on q8, missing).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Tan goatskin, sewn on double raised cords, with single front-beaded, dark green endbands. Green/white braided tackets at the head and tail. Marbled

edges. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Ring and pin clasps. Simple blind tooling on front and back covers. Blind tooling with ornaments on front and back. Raised cords blind-decorated with tie-up cords. Title blind-tooled onto spine.

This is the second Aldine edition of Lucretius, differing both in editor and format from the 1500 quarto edition. Although the second edition was not based on new manuscript evidence, the work of its editor, Andrea Navagero—Aldus's principal Latin editor for the period 1512–15 and one of the ablest editors of Latin of his time—was superior to that of Girolamo Avanzi, who edited the first edition.



In the preface, dedicated to his former patron and pupil Alberto Pio of Carpi, Aldus notes that although much of the philosophy expounded by Lucretius is repugnant to a believing Christian, because there is much of value in his work he should therefore be read anyway. He mentions that this edition has come out more slowly than he would have wished, though he warmly acknowledges the efforts of Navagero, who worked quickly in spite of other obligations and the "importunate haste of the pressmen" ("importunam impressorum nostrorum festinationem"). The main problem, it seems, is Aldus's own ill health. Aldus, now sixty-five, would die within a month of publication of this, his last production. Thus

his complaint concluding the preface becomes the more poignant: "But, if it weren't for the bad health with which I have been rather harshly afflicted for some months now, quite a bit would have been added which would testify to all of our diligence, and would have made [the text] of Lucretius itself fuller." From all accounts, Aldus simply wore himself out, as the eulogy printed in the 1515 edition of Lactantius (NO. 32) states.

REFERENCES: Adams, L-1651; American STC Italian, 3:285; BM STC Italian, 397; Brunet, 3:1218; Fletcher, 123-24; Grässe, 4:287; Lowry, 163, 204-5; Renouard, 74, no. 11; UCLA, 112.

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32 Lactantius. *Selections* Tertullian. *Apologeticum*

**L. Cæli Lactantii Firmiani diuina-
rum institutionum Libri septem.**

De ira Dei, Liber I

De opificio Dei, Liber I

Epitome in libros suos liber accephalos.

Phoenix -

Carmen de Domini resurrectione.



COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri, mense Aprili. M.D.XV. [1515] [identical colophons at end of the text of Lactantius and that of Tertullian]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [16], 348, [12], [4], 48 leaves; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: 2a-2b⁸ a-z⁸ A-Y⁸ [*]⁴ 2A-2F⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin, sewn on single raised cords, with cloth green/white endbands. Green silk page marker. Red edges. Simple gold tooling on front and back covers. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto two labels (one brown leather, one green paper) on spine.

TERTULLIANVS.



This edition of two of the major early Latin Christian writers was the first book produced by the Aldine Press after the death of its founder, Aldus Manutius. Though the Christian apologist Lactantius (ca. A.D. 240-ca. 320) suffered under the reign of Domitian for his Christian beliefs, he eventually became the tutor to Constantine's son Crispus. Only his Christian works survive, although he also wrote on other subjects; and in this edition are collected most of his extant works. The *Divinae institutiones*, the main work here published, is a reply to attacks on Christianity by early philosophers. During the Renaissance Lactantius became a popular author and was known as "the Christian Cicero" for his fine Latin style. This would have appealed to a publisher like Aldus.

Tertullian (ca. A.D. 160–ca. 240) was one of the earliest of Latin Christian writers whose writings survive. A native of Carthage trained in the law, he, too, engaged in apologetic writing, including the *Apologeticum*, in defense of Christianity against charges of atheism and magic, among other things.

Although the two texts have separate pagination, title pages, and prefaces, both were edited by Giovanni Battista Egnazio, were issued together, and are always found together today. Their subject matter naturally links them intimately and, as Renouard puts it, “they cannot be separated without making them into two imperfect fragments” (Renouard, 70). The two were published together again in identical format in the 1535 Aldine reprint, which the BYU library also holds.

This edition is particularly important to the history of printing because its preface contains the first public announcement of the death of Aldus which had occurred on 6 February 1515. The eulogy found in Egnazio’s preface shows the warmth which those who had worked for Aldus felt toward him, his reputation as a man of letters, and something of the master’s working style, which may have contributed to his death. We reproduce the entire preface below.¹³

Giovanni Battista Egnazio, the Venetian, to the most illustrious and worthy Bishop Antonio Trivulzio, most noble ambassador of the most Christian King of the French to the Venetian Senate:

We have recently received a grave wound, most worthy Bishop, and in the opinion of all, a very great misfortune in the death of Aldus Manutius. Nor indeed does this affect me alone, who am deprived of a most pleasant companion and a man most valued in business dealings, but it also affects all educated men and students of the liberal arts. We cannot but be deeply moved again and again, all of us, by the death of so singular and outstanding a man. This sorrow of ours is increased by the fact that in such a dearth of learned men and of good books—how great a dearth is now clear—a man both outstandingly learned and one who rose up to benefit literature at his own expense and labor has been taken away at a wholly unseasonable time, so that he has left behind a mournful longing in all for his erudition and singular industry.

In addition to this, the bitterness of sorrow grows daily the more serious because he so lived with all learned men that since he never disparaged anyone, nor did he oppose praise of them, he always embraced and cherished all with a remarkable devotion. Thus there is practically no one in all of Europe with even a modicum of education who has not been touched by some matchless benefit from Manutius. So I rightly grieve for him with those others, and believe it ought to be mourned the more by all that such a man has died, the equal of whose industry neither our own nor an earlier age has had. If we remember that even great cities have mourned the passing of mediocre men, or even the death of birds, as when with solemn rites the Roman people celebrated the funeral of a raven (*corui*),¹⁴ who then will not grieve deeply when he thinks of this man, lost, dead, who almost single-handedly resurrected and restored lost and un hoped-for literary works?

Praise for this restored literature ought to be the more appreciated since a loss of letters would have been greater than a diminution of political power or borders. For once the former are lost, not only will they not revive or flourish anywhere in the world, but they so completely disappear that scarcely even a trace of them survive. As for political power, important as it is, when it perishes among one people or race it the more gladly and brilliantly arises somewhere else, so that the majesty and splendor of this power and the magnitude of its wealth, by its loss from a single people or nation, is often transferred, greater and more brilliant, to another.

But since not even to Aldus was perpetual enjoyment of life promised, nor should we hope this for any man, we have put an end to our mourning, lest we seem to mourn more for our own inconvenience and loss. For he lived as long as he was permitted, and he lived with the highest reputation among all men for honesty and scholarship. Nor is there any people so barbarous, so remote, in all of Europe who has not heard of the name of Aldus. Indeed, it is known that many important men came to Venice just to greet and see this man, and also to shower him with gifts. Such an admirable city did not itself draw these men to admire it, but the fame of one man led them here, a man who rallied men to the best of his ability so that he might be able to pursue his program of restoring the Latin and Greek language.

Because he threw himself entirely into the contemplation of this day and night, he was afflicted with a serious, long-lasting illness which he contracted from too much work, too many late nights; and so he died, unseasonably perhaps for himself, and most certainly for us, nor would an earlier time have been more fit, since long experience had made him most skilled, and he had prepared many projects which, had he been able to perfect and complete them, you would not ask for much closer to perfection.

Indeed, he was other things for other men. He entrusted to me the editing of the seven books of the *Divinae institutiones* of Coelius Lactantius Firmianus, and the [other] remaining works of that most learned of Christians, so that he himself meanwhile might spend his time either more profitably in emending other authors, or in improving his health. We prefer to leave to the judgment of others how hard I have worked, how much diligence and erudition I have brought to this edition. I can, however, affirm this fact: if this edition is more correct than other editions of Lactantius which have been published to this day, Aldus himself easily deserves the credit before all others. And these, indeed, ought to be named to you, either because you hold the first place in dignity among the nobles of our religion, or because you were born to a highly distinguished family in the Italian lands, or because you shine as the legate of the most powerful and most Christian King to the Venetian Senate, in the amazing favor and prudent opinion of the city, or, finally, because in counsel, genius, authority, and liberality you have almost no peer.

We desire the reader to note that the epitome, which we have taken care to add from the witness of Jerome, not only lacks the beginning which that most learned and holy man joined to it, but it is just a fragment. This is because I have made the effort to rescue at least an oarlock, such as it is, from such a shipwreck. As for the *Carmen de resurrectione*, which I found ascribed to

Lactantius, not only does it seem to me not to be worthy of this man for its eloquence, but it should not even be compared with the Phoenix, which he wrote, since in addition to other problems it limps along metrically. We have not printed those notes to Lactantius by some unknown friar, since many of them are blameworthy for their ignorance and also because we wish each to make his own judgment, especially since [Lactantius] lived in those times in which many things had not yet been condemned by common consent. Which things, in any case, an intelligent man would neither have obstinately asserted, and, once admonished, would easily have corrected. Farewell.

When Aldus died the great contemporaries of his age combined to honor him. Erasmus, Reuchlin, and Musurus proclaimed that Aldus had done more for the spread of learning and the development of literature than all the scholars of his day. Fellow printers—colleagues and competitors alike—acknowledged his supremacy as the master printer. “As a pioneer, he established so high a standard that no one has surpassed his work, even with the aid of modern mechanical improvements—and it is a question whether any printer has yet equaled the quality and taste shown in the Aldine masterpieces” (Orcutt, 72). Raphael Regio, then humanities professor at Venice, delivered the funeral oration over the body of Aldus as it lay in state in the old Church of St. Paternian. “The casket rested on a catafalque banked high with choice editions of the volumes he had created. These tangible evidences of the devotion of a lifetime form the ever-living monument to the continuing benefaction of his greatness” (Orcutt, 73).

REFERENCES: Adams, L-16; American STC Italian, 2:213; BM STC Italian, 366; Brunet, 3:736; Grässe, 4:66; Panzer, 8:424, no. 723; Renouard, 70, no. 2; UCLA, 114.



HUMANIST TEXTS

INTRODUCTION



It is no surprise that Aldus Manutius—himself a scholar of Latin and Greek, who had received a humanist education and was the admirer and friend of both scholars and poets—should have taken up the publication of humanist authors right from the beginning of his career. He and his successors produced a fairly steady stream of works not only by contemporaries such as Pietro Bembo and Erasmus, but by humanists of earlier generations, including the already “classic” work of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. This output came nowhere near the number of ancient texts published; nevertheless, the variety of humanist works put forth by the Aldine Press is considerable. It includes strictly scholarly work such as translations, editions, commentaries, and erudite treatises, as well as more polemical and oratorical works of topical interest and, finally, poetry and prose in the vernacular, work which was considered frivolous by some. In their variety these publications reflect, especially in the early years, the importance of the Aldine Press as a gathering place for humanists of all nations. It was of even greater importance as a disseminator of humanism from Italy to northern and eastern Europe, as well as the means by which the work of northern humanists could be introduced into Italy. The books described here have been selected in an attempt to reveal this aspect of the efforts of the Manutius family. Thus, works of considerable erudition are considered along with much more popular fare; and included are both extremely famous and valuable editions, such as the first edition of Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano* (NO. 41), and much more obscure titles. Finally, northern and eastern European humanists are represented, as well as a wide variety of Italian authors.

It is doubtful whether Aldus and his heirs set out consciously to strive for such eclecticism. Their reasons for publication were as varied as the circumstances by which each text came to their attention. On

occasion, scholars approached them. Erasmus, for example, during his tour of Italy in 1508, carefully entreated Aldus to publish his translation of two tragedies of Euripides. At other times, the publisher approached the humanist or poet—sometimes to be eagerly welcomed, as in the case of Pontano, or sometimes to be ignored, as in the case of Sannazaro. Outright expropriation of an earlier edition was also a well-established custom at the Aldine Press and seems to have been especially true in the case of works which enjoyed a particular vogue, such as Leone Hebreo’s *Dialoghi d’amore* (NO. 39). Not all the works considered here are important in and of themselves, as editions. Indeed, some books by very famous figures published by the Manutii are of very little interest to the modern specialist studying those writers, since they were based on faulty manuscripts or, as often as not, simply on other printed editions. Thus, although BYU has copies of Aldus’s editions of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, they are not included here. The aim is rather to choose works which show the general climate of European humanism during the lifetimes of these publishers and their influence upon that climate.

* * *

33 Bessarion. *In calumniatorem Platonis libri quatuor*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedib. Aldi Romani, Iulio mense.
M.DIII. [1503]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [8], 112 leaves; 31 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: a–m⁸ (m1 unsigned) n–p⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin, sewn on single raised cords, with blue/white cloth endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Blue speckled edges. Simple gold tooling on front and back covers. Simple blind tooling on board edges.

Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine and endcaps. Title gold-tooled onto two labels (one red, one black) on spine.

QVAE HOC IN VOLUMINE TRACTANTVR

¶ Bessarionis Cardinalis Niceni, & Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani in calumniatore Platonis libri quatuor: opus uarium, ac doctiss. In quo præclarissima quæq; & digna lectu: quæ a Platone scripta sunt ad homines tam moribus, q̃ disciplinis instruendos breuiter, clareq; & placido stilo narrantur.

¶ Eiusdem correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete: ubi passim uerba græca ipsius Platonis recitantur & emendata, & cum suis accentibus: nam in libris Romæ olim impressis defunct. Deinde a Bessarione saepe argumento præmisso in latinum uertuntur. Postremo Trapezuntii tralatio subiungitur quod est perq̃ utile iis i qui græcis literis instituantur: atq; ex græcis bonis, bona latina facere uolūt.

¶ Eiusdem de natura & arte aduersus eundem Trapezuntii tractatus admodumq̃ acutus, ac doctus.

¶ Index eorum omnium, quæ singulis libris pertractantur.



Bessarion of Trebizond (1403–1472) enjoyed a remarkable career, not only as a cleric in both the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic churches, but as an influential humanist, patron of humanists, and Neoplatonic philosopher. He was born in Trebizond but at an early age was sent to Constantinople for an education in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. As a young man he also entered public life, participating in a number of diplomatic missions on behalf of the emperor John VIII Palaeologus. He attended the Council of Ferrara and Florence (1438–39), where he drew attention as one of the principal Greek spokesmen in favor of unifying the

eastern and western churches. Pope Eugenius IV duly rewarded him with the cardinalate in 1439. Bessarion thereupon took up residence in Italy but did not by any means forsake his important position in the East. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Bessarion became one of the chief advocates of a crusade to win back the city, a goal he actively pursued while simultaneously filling many diplomatic missions for the papacy. In 1463 he became patriarch of Constantinople. Throughout his residence in the West, but especially after the fall of Constantinople, Bessarion was patron and protector of the many Greek scholars who sought refuge in Italy. Indeed, Bessarion felt that one of his foremost duties was the preservation of an intellectual and cultural heritage which he believed would perish under the rule of the Turks. In addition to sponsoring Greek intellectuals, he also endeavored to disseminate the Greek tradition by promoting the study of Greek by Westerners in Western universities and by welcoming Italian scholars into his own circle. But perhaps his most important contribution lay in the fact that, from an early age, he had been an avid book collector, and he continued by every possible means to add to his remarkable collection of manuscripts. Being knowledgeable as well as enthusiastic, Bessarion assembled a library of extremely high quality, his stated goal being to preserve the Byzantine heritage by collecting the best works of the Greeks. In 1468, four years before his death, he donated this outstanding collection of 752 manuscripts (including 482 Greek items) to the city of Venice, where they became the foundation of the Biblioteca Marciana (Vast, 367–74).

Bessarion was a scholar himself, as well as a patron of scholars. Although he began his philosophical career as a pupil of the eccentric pantheist Georgius Gemistus Plethon, he became moderate and eclectic in both philosophy and theology. For example, although clearly a Platonist, he took the time to translate Aristotle's *Metaphysics* into Latin. It was precisely this moderation which prompted Bessarion to write *In calumniatorem Platonis*. The "calumniator" of the title was another Greek exile, the scholar George of Trebizond, who in a previous book had attacked not only Platonism but Plato himself as the enemy of virtue, good customs, and Christianity itself. George also sought to show Aristotle's superiority based on that philosopher's supposed accordance with

Catholic doctrine. Bessarion sought, in his reply, not only to reconcile Plato to Christianity, but to reconcile Plato with Aristotle and find the appropriate place for both of them in Christian philosophy (Vast, 327–361).

The book was first printed in Rome by the German printers Sweynheym and Pannartz in 1468. The fledgling Neoplatonists of Italy welcomed it with enthusiasm. Marsilio Ficino, whose Florentine Academy was founded the following year under the patronage of the Medici, wrote of Bessarion's book, "Plato predicted to King Dionysius that after long centuries there would come a time when, just as fire purifies gold, the mysteries of theology would be clarified by a profound discussion. Those times have arrived . . . the soul of Plato can rejoice; and all of us, his family, must congratulate ourselves to the highest degree" (quoted in Vast, 361).

Bessarion's book became highly influential in the spread of a christianized Neoplatonism in fifteenth-century Italy. It provided for Aldus Manutius two opportunities: to publish a text still highly regarded in his own generation, and in doing so to demonstrate his scholarship in editing and improving upon the Sweynheym and Pannartz edition of 1468. Aldus claims in his preface to the work to have used a manuscript in Bessarion's own hand which enabled "us to correct much which was wrong in the Roman edition." An "argument" to Book III was added (printed, however, with the preface), and the Greek was corrected. While the differences in the Latin texts of the two editions are very minor, the Aldine Greek shows considerable changes, adding accents, punctuation, and in many cases separating or uniting words that had either become conflated or split in Sweynheym's text (Maloy, no. 32). The result was a great improvement in legibility.

Aldus gives us no clue, however, as to where this manuscript of Bessarion came from. Modern research has shown that it could not have been any of the four manuscript copies of *In calumniatorem Platonis* now in the Biblioteca Marciana and in fact seems to come from an entirely different manuscript family (Lowry, 79, 229–30; Lowry [1974], 164–66). Indeed, although Bessarion's bequest was nearby during all of Aldus's publishing career, it seems that neither Aldus nor any of his considerable circle of scholarly friends were ever able to take advantage of it in any way. This was due to the fact that

the government of Venice, lacking both a proper place to house this splendid collection and any real appreciation of its true value, simply left it boxed up and inaccessible until nearly a century after Bessarion's death.

REFERENCES: Adams, B-833; American STC Italian, 1:214; Bietenholz, 1:142–43; BM STC Italian, 90; Brunet, 1:827; Grässe, 1:353; Panzer, 8:363, no. 197; Renouard, 40, no. 5; UCLA, 58.

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34 Angelo Poliziano. *Omnia opera*

OMNIA OPERA ANGELI Politiani, et alia
quædam lectu digna, quorum nomina in se-
quenti indice uidere licet.

COLOPHON: Venetiis In aedibus Aldi Romani, mense
Iulio M.IID. [1498]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [452] leaves; 33 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: a-p⁸ q-r¹⁰ s-t⁸ A-I⁸ K⁴ (K4 blank) L-P⁸
Q-R¹⁰ S⁸ T¹⁰ V⁶ X-Y¹⁰ Z⁸ &¹⁰ 2a¹⁰ iteru[m] aa⁸
iteru[m] bb⁸ 2b-2d⁸ (2d2 signed 2c2) 2e-2h⁸ 2i⁶ 2k¹⁰.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown half pigskin over wooden boards, sewn on double pigskin thongs, with single front-bead laced-in endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Clasps on front fore-edge. Remnants of leather straps on back fore-edge. Blind-tooled with ornaments on all areas of the pigskin. Title calligraphed on fore-edge, painted in red onto a white painted background on spine section above the first raised sewing station.

Angelo Ambrogini (1454–1494) is better known as Poliziano, a nickname derived from the Latin name of his native city. At the age of ten he was sent to live with

relatives in Florence after the murder of his father in a vendetta. There his extraordinary talent as a linguist and scholar became evident quite soon. He studied with the Greek scholar Johannes Argyropoulos (and later with Demetrius Chalcondyles); by the age of sixteen, he had proven his ability at Greek by translating the second book of *The Iliad* into Latin. Poliziano also regularly attended the lectures of Italian humanists such as Marsilio Ficino and Cristoforo Landino. He had dedicated his translation of Homer to Lorenzo de' Medici and soon found sufficient favor with him to enter his household in 1473 as tutor to Lorenzo's sons, Piero and Giovanni (the future Pope Leo X). While in this position, Poliziano continued such scholarly work as translating four more books of *The Iliad* but also produced much poetry, in both Latin and Italian. Other endeavors included a history and commentary upon the famous Pazzi conspiracy, in which members of the Pazzi and Riario families plotted to assassinate Lorenzo de' Medici and his brother Giovanni and did succeed in murdering the latter.

Poliziano, however, had in some fashion incurred the dislike of Lorenzo's wife, Clarice, who disapproved of his teaching and persuaded Lorenzo to dismiss him in 1478. After two years of travel, Poliziano did return to Florence and to Lorenzo's favor, although he never resumed his position in the Medici household nor enjoyed anything like the intimate favor extended to him during his youth. His interests and accomplishments remained extremely varied. For example, it is to Poliziano that we owe *Orfeo*, a play produced at Mantua in 1480, which anticipates the rich developments in both Renaissance drama and the vogue for pastoral (Krailsheimer, 267). On the whole, Poliziano's career after his return to Florence took on more and more of a philological and philosophical character. He taught the classical poets and rhetoricians until 1490 but then turned his attention largely to philosophy and medicine until his premature death in 1494.

Poliziano was the outstanding humanist of his day, a talented scholar whose breadth of reading was very great and whose range of interests included history, politics, jurisprudence, architecture, botany, and even cooking. These interests were accompanied by a remarkable ability to handle Greek; Poliziano not only composed

epigrams in Greek, but was the first humanist to appreciate the differences between various dialects of ancient Greek. His influence on the subsequent course of humanism was considerable. For one thing, he may be considered the father of textual criticism, for he was the first to consider carefully the relationship between manuscripts and to stress the need to reconstruct something like the original text. He brought all these talents to bear on thorny textual and interpretive questions in texts like his *Miscellanea* (1489) and his commentary on the *Pandects*. He continued translating, especially concentrating on philosophical texts: his translation of the *Manual* of Epictetus, for example, remained the standard for many years (Krailsheimer, 26). His own poetical output reflected his scholarly eclecticism; he wrote in an erudite, recondite style, displaying his own considerable reading, and consciously eschewed the imitation of Cicero in favor of a Latin style that took what was best from all classical writers. In this he was, like Erasmus, a confirmed anti-Ciceronian.

Poliziano was something of a celebrity in his day. Among those who idolized him was the young Aldus Manutius, who in 1485 wrote admiringly to Poliziano to offer friendship and service. Still, Aldus became involved in publishing his hero's works only by accident. A number of Poliziano's individual works had already been edited by the scholar Alessandro Sarti and published in Bologna in the 1490's by Platon Benedetti, who also published his collected vernacular works in 1494. After Poliziano's death, the humanist Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, with the assistance of Pietro Ricci, started a project to organize Poliziano's papers to the end of publishing an edition of the collected works. Benedetti was again to be the publisher, but he died unexpectedly in 1497, and through Pico's agency the entire project was turned over to Aldus (Lowry, 53–54, 118). In his preface, Aldus makes no secret of his admiration for Poliziano and laments the untimely death that prevented more learned commentary from his pen to benefit posterity. The work was again edited by Alessandro Sarti. In the matter of Aldine lore, Aldus cites in his preface the Greek proverb "make haste slowly," traditionally represented by the dolphin-and-anchor emblem which he would later adopt as a printer's device.

Although this book is entitled *Omnia opera*, it is not, in fact, complete. Prominently absent is Poliziano's history of the Pazzi conspiracy, *De pactiana coniuratione commentarium*. Renouard speculates that Aldus deliberately omitted it because he feared Rome's disapproval, since the history implicated Pope Sixtus IV in the conspiracy. This explanation seems doubtful given the fact that the Holy See was occupied at the time of the book's publication by the Borgia Pope Alexander VI, who probably would not have been overly concerned about any book that made the family of Sixtus, the della Rovere, look bad. Nonetheless the omission was not made good until the 1553 edition of Poliziano's complete works at Basel.

The status of Poliziano as a scholar of note may be observed in BYU's copy by the fact that some of the more significant treatises in the volume have marginal notes written in five different hands.

REFERENCES: Bietenholz, 3:106–8; BM STC Italian, 24; BM, 5:559; Brunet, 4:780; *DBI*, 2:691–702; Goff, P-886; Grässe, 5:389; Panzer, 3:439, no. 2379; Renouard, 17, no. 4; UCLA, 23.

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35 Giovanni Gioviano Pontano. *Opera*

COLOPHON: Venetiis In aedibus Aldi Ro. mense augusto
M.D.V. [1505]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [484] p.; 17 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: a–2f⁸ 2g¹⁰.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown goatskin, sewn on double raised cords, with single front-beaded blue/brown headband. Brown tailband around a wooden core. Plain endpapers. Calligraphed waste vellum pastedowns. Gilt and gauffered edges. Blind tooling on front and back covers. Gold tooling with ornamentation on board edges. Simple blind tooling on spine. Title blind-tooled onto back cover and gold-tooled onto spine.

PONTANI OPERA.

<i>Urania, siue de Stellis</i>	libri quinq.
<i>Meteororum</i>	liber unus.
<i>De Hortis hesperidum</i>	libri duo.
<i>Lepidina siue postorales pompæ</i>	
<i>Septem. Item Meliseus. Mæon Acon.</i>	
<i>Hendecasyllaborum</i>	libri duo.
<i>Tumulorum</i>	liber unus.
<i>Neniæ</i>	duodecim.
<i>Epigrammata</i>	duodecim.

*Quæ uero in toto opere habeantur in India,
qui in calæ est, licet uidere.*



Giovanni Pontano (1429–1503), who became the most important humanist of fifteenth-century Naples and who remains today one of the most highly admired of the Renaissance Latin poets, was born at Cerreto and studied in Perugia before attaching himself to the court of King Alfonso I of Naples with a position in the chancery. He pursued a lengthy career in the service of the Aragonese kings of Naples while engaging in humanist activities, including the study of Greek with George of Trebizond and admission to the humanist academy founded in Naples by Antonio Beccadelli (1394–1471), also known as Panormita, one of the more important humanist poets of the early fifteenth century. In 1456, Pontano was made tutor to the king's nephew, Charles of Navarre. Some years later he married Adriana Sassone, who, along with their children, became the subject of much of Pontano's poetry. In 1471, upon the death of Beccadelli, Pontano succeeded him as leader of the academy, where he fostered the careers of younger poets such as Jacopo Sannazaro.

Meanwhile, he continued his career in the civil service, becoming the king's secretary in 1486 and also serving as counselor and diplomat. In 1495, however, when the French briefly conquered Naples, Pontano greeted them with great enthusiasm. This cost him his career, for upon the return of the house of Aragon to power later that year the poet was deprived of public office and spent the remaining years of his life in retirement.

Pontano was well regarded by his contemporaries, although some, such as Pietro Bembo, regarded his work as licentious (Krailshaimer, 142). His output includes both Latin poetry and prose and covers a wide range of subject matter: georgics, or poems on agricultural subjects; didactic poetry on the constellations and the weather; satiric dialogues; ethical treatises; literary criticism; history; and finally, perhaps most remarkably of all, much lyric poetry devoted to his love for his wife and children—unusual subject matter for his time. In 1502, Aldus Manutius dedicated to Pontano an edition of the *Thebaid* by the Roman poet Statius, offering in it to publish anything Pontano chose to send him. Pontano responded promptly by sending copies of his three major poetic works to Aldus. Completion of the edition was held up by Pontano's death and by the fact that some material went astray between Naples and Venice. Nonetheless, Aldus's 1505 text, representing as it does the author's final version of the poems included in it, is important in the Pontano corpus (Lowry, 221–22).

The subsequent publication of Pontano's works by the Aldine Press was haphazard. They had to compete with a collected works published in Naples between 1505 and 1512 and edited by Pontano's friend Pietro Summonte. The first volume of Pontano's poetry published by Aldus in 1505 was not joined by a second, much more derivative, volume, until 1518.

REFERENCES: American STC Italian, 2:629; Bietenholz, 3:113–14; BM STC Italian, 532; Brunet, 4:807; Grässe, 5:406; Panzer, 8:376, no. 308; Perosa and Sparrow, 67–87; Renouard, 49, no. 4; UCLA, 75.

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36 Giovanni Gioviano Pontano. *Opera omnia soluta oratione composita*

IOANNIS IOVIANI PONTANI.

DE ASPIRATIONE	Libri duo.
CHARON	Dialogus.
ANTONIUS	Dialogus.
ACTIVS	Dialogus.
AEGIDIUS	Dialogus.
ASINVS	Dialogus.
DE SERMONE	Libri sex.

BELLII, QVOD FERDINANDVS SENIOR
NEAPOLITANVS REX CVM IO-
ANNE ANDEGANIENSIVM
DVCE GESSIT, LI-
BRI SEX.

Title page to vol. 2.

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri
mense Iunio .M.D.XVIII [mense Aprili .M.D.XIX,
mense Septemb. M.D.XIX.] [1518–19]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 3 v.; 21 cm. (4to).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vol. 1: Vellum, sewn on recessed
cords, with gray rolled cloth endbands. Plain endpapers
and pastedowns. Brown sprinkled edges. Title gold-tooled
onto brown leather label on spine.

Vols. 2 and 3: Vellum, sewn on recessed cords, with
single front-beaded green laced-in endbands. Green page
marker. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Red sprinkled
edges. Title gold-tooled onto brown leather label on spine.

The Aldine Press published three volumes of
Pontano's prose works in 1518–19; the one shown here
is the middle volume. Pontano's prose works included
such subjects as the treatises on the virtues of obedience,

liberality, and splendor written in 1490–93, as well as *De sermone*, a treatise on poetics, and several dialogues. One such dialogue, *Charon*, contains anti-clerical material sufficiently virulent that it is often mutilated or torn outright from the volume. BYU's copy, however, preserves *Charon* intact.

For biographical information on Pontano, see NO. 37.

REFERENCES: American STC Italian, 2:630; Brunet, 4:808; Grässe, 5:406; Panzer, 8:455, no. 973; Perrins, 223; Renouard, 82, no. 3, 87 nos. 6–7; UCLA, 147, 156, 161.

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37 Jacopo Sannazaro. *Arcadia*

**A R C A D I A
D E L S A N N A Z A R O .**



M. D. XXXIII.

Adaei Castellii Tiliensis

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COLOPHON: Impresso in Vinegia nelle case delli heredi d'Aldo Romano, et Andrea socero, nell' anno M.D.XXXIII. [1534]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 91, [1] leaves; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: A–L⁸ M⁴ (–M4) (final leaf blank).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown sheepskin spine, with red paper sides, sewn on single raised cords, with rolled leather endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Yellow edges. Vellum tips. Simple gold-tooling on spine. Title gold-tooled onto yellow leather label on spine, paper label on spine.

Jacopo Sannazaro (1457/8–1530), born to a prominent Neapolitan family, was a poet whose work both in Latin and Italian was extremely fashionable in its own time. He led the life of a courtier, being the court poet of King Ferdinand I of Naples and a member of Pontano's humanist academy from the 1480s on; he is also known by the Latin name Actius Syncerus, which Pontano bestowed upon him. He spent most of his life in Naples, leaving for only a few short years to follow his king into exile in 1501. In 1503, after Pontano's death, Sannazaro assumed the leadership of the academy.

As with Pontano, Aldus Manutius approached Sannazaro with a request to publish his work in the dedication of a work by Giorgio Interiano, a friend of Sannazaro, which Aldus published in 1502. The request was spurred probably not only by Sannazaro's reputation—for he dominated the cultural scene of southern Italy as Pietro Bembo later came to dominate the north—but by the commercial success of a pirated edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* which was published at Venice by Bernardino da Vercelli in that same year. The text of this pirated edition is notoriously incorrect; nonetheless it enjoyed an immediate and enduring popularity. Sannazaro apparently did not respond to Aldus's request. Rather, he provided his manuscript, which he in fact had finished as early as 1489, to Pietro Summonte of Naples, who published a revised and corrected version in 1504. The Aldine edition of 1514, reprinted in 1534, was merely a reissue and simplification of Summonte's text. Indeed, Aldus has been accused of treating Sannazaro with a high hand,

correcting the poet's orthography without permission, for example (Lowry, 229, 248). Still, in his preface Aldus professes to honor Sannazaro very highly, remarking fulsomely that in his Italian verses he has equaled Petrarch and in Latin has surpassed him.

Arcadia is the best-known of Sannazaro's Italian works, and in his style and spirit he has, in fact, been favorably compared to Petrarch by scholars other than Aldus (Krailsheimer, 150). *Arcadia* is, however, less remarkable for its debts than for its influence. It tells the story, in prose and verse, of the frustrated love of one Sincero for a certain Phyllis. Sincero recounts his woes to a group of shepherds in an idyllic rustic landscape, whose elegant and cultivated harmony provide the real focus for a work which lacks resolution and dramatic unity. *Arcadia* is the first nondramatic Renaissance pastoral; its descendants include Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* and Sir Philip Sidney's two versions of *Arcadia*, although Sannazaro's work does not, as these three works do, incorporate elements of the romance into the pastoral setting. Redolent of a world of unchanging beauty and simplicity, Sannazaro's pastoral appealed deeply to his contemporaries—deeply enough that this work, very alien to modern tastes, appeared in a new edition virtually every other year throughout the remainder of the century.

REFERENCES: Adams, S-320; American STC Italian, 3:120; Bietenholz, 3:193-94; BM STC Italian, 606; Brunet, 5:129 ("meilleure édition des poésies italiennes de Sannazar donnée par les Alde"); Grässe, 6:266; Panzer, 8:538, no. 1736; Renouard, 112, no. 5; UCLA, 236.

* * *

38 Jacopo Sannazaro. *Opera omnia latine scripta*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus haeredum Aldi Manutii, et Andreae Asulani soceri, mense Septembri M.D.XXXV. [1535]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 39, 63 leaves; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: a-e⁸ A-H⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red goatskin, sewn on single raised cords, with double front-beaded green/red/white endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back cover, spine, and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto spine and onto brown label on spine.

IACOBI SANNAZARII OPERA
OMNIA LATINE SCRIPTA,
NUPER EDITA.



M. D. XXXV.

NON SINE PRIVILEGIO.

Sannazaro, in addition to his considerable reputation as a poet of Italian, was the author of highly-regarded Latin poems which fall into three main categories: lyrics, eclogues, and religious poetry. These works were not collected and published until late in Sannazaro's life, and unlike the derivative edition of *Arcadia* (see NO. 37), the Aldine editions of his Latin poetry are quite valuable to the scholar. The Aldine Press first published

Sannazaro's Latin works in 1527; in the five subsequent editions, whose swift printing perhaps indicates the vogue for Sannazaro's poetry, more material was progressively added so that this one, the 1535 edition, achieves a real utility.

Sannazaro's output was not great, perhaps because he was such a careful reviser of his own work. Of his Latin works the most famous is *De partu virginis*, a work on the nativity which took Sannazaro upwards of twenty years to polish to his satisfaction, although it is only fifteen hundred lines long. It was first published at Naples in 1526. The poem relates the birth of Christ in a Virgilian epic style and form, producing a work which is so highly classicized and so incongruous in its imagery and style when set next to the biblical account that it made Sannazaro's contemporaries uneasy even while they admired his skill. Erasmus, for example, openly criticized Sannazaro's attempts to portray a Christian theme in pagan language. The fashion for such writing in early sixteenth-century Italy is not shown only in Sannazaro's work: there existed other, similar productions, such as Marco Girolamo Vida's *Christiad* (1535), a Virgilian treatment of the life of Christ written at the request of Pope Leo X.

For biographical information about Sannazaro, see NO. 37.

REFERENCES: Adams, S-313; American STC Italian, 3:119; Bietenholz, 3:193-94; BM STC Italian, 605; Brunet, 5:127; Grässe, 6:265; Panzer, 8:543, no. 1788; Perosa and Sparrow 142-58; Renouard, 114, no. 3; UCLA, 244.

* * *

39 Judah Abrabanel (Leone Hebreo). *Dialoghi d'amore*

COLOPHON: In Vinegia, nell'anno M.D.XXXXI. In casa de' figliuoli di Aldo. [1541]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [2], 261 [i.e., 241], [1] leaves; 16 cm. (8vo). Errors in foliation: numbers 135-54 omitted.

SIGNATURES: A-2G⁸ 2H⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown sprinkled calfskin, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded white/orange endbands. Green silk page marker. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Blue/yellow speckled edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on board edges, endcaps, and spine. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

DIALOGI DI AMORE, COMPOSTI
PER LEONE MEDICO, DI NA-
TIONE HEBREO, ET DI-
POI FATTO CHRI-
STIANO.



M. D. XLI.

Judah Abrabanel (ca. 1460-after 1523) was born in Lisbon, the eldest son of Isaac ben Judah Abrabanel (1437-1508), one of the most distinguished members of a Jewish family noted not only for its wealth and political acumen, but also for its scholarship. Isaac Abrabanel was himself a broadly educated man and was among the first Jewish scholars to be familiar with Renaissance humanism and be influenced by humanist ideas. He was in touch with humanist circles in Lisbon even as he enjoyed other roles as state treasurer to King Alfonso V and as the writer of numerous learned commentaries on

the major and minor prophets and on philosophical ideas, as well as devotional works propounding his view that the coming of the Messiah was imminent.

Judah was instructed by his learned father in these profound philosophical traditions but also pursued a career in medicine, in which he enjoyed success at a relatively young age. In 1483, however, his father was forced to flee Portugal after being accused of conspiracy against Alfonso's heir, João II. The family followed into exile in Spain, where they prospered until the edict of expulsion of Spanish Jewry in 1492. They then moved on to Naples, where Isaac continued his career as a tax farmer and financier under King Ferrante I. His son traveled throughout Italy and somewhat later taught medicine and astrology at the University of Naples, as well as becoming personal physician to the Spanish viceroy. It was during his fruitful career as physician, scholar, and humanist intellectual that he adopted the name of Leone Hebreo, by which he is generally known to the Christian world and historical scholarship.

At some point, probably in the late 1490s—the precise dates of composition are unknown—Abrabanel composed the *Dialoghi d'amore*. Although in the past there has been some debate on whether the dialogues were written in Italian, Spanish, or Hebrew, modern scholarship has largely concluded that they were indeed composed in Italian. There are now three dialogues in the treatise; a fourth was intended, but whether it was never composed or is lost remains a mystery. Abrabanel's death date is unknown; he disappears from the historical record after 1523 and must have died sometime before the 1535 publication of his book, which is announced as posthumous.

The three dialogues are a conversation between two abstract entities, Philone and Sophia, who are platonic lovers. Abrabanel apparently believed that love, as the source and *raison d'être* of the universe, was also the force capable of elevating humankind to the pinnacle of wisdom. Philone and Sophia expound at length upon the nature of love, detailing its operation in every sphere from the interaction of the elements up to and including its manifestation in and effect upon God himself. Strongly platonic in his arguments, Abrabanel repeats many of the commonplaces of Renaissance Neoplatonism, familiar from the works of Marsilio

Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. Love does not and cannot mean possession or ownership, but rather is an ideal union between the lover and the sublime beauty that comes from God and is embodied in the beloved. The very goal of love as a cosmic force is to unite all of creation with God; it is the circle of mutual love between the created and the Creator that binds and sustains all the universe in a covenant. This central theme leads to an original and highly eclectic exploration of many different subjects as Abrabanel seeks to apply his theory to all kinds of problems. He uses it to present and expound upon Greek myths as well as biblical and rabbinical teachings and traditions, and he attempts to reconcile not only Plato with Aristotle, but Jewish philosophy with Greek philosophy and both with the work of their Arab commentators.

The *Dialoghi* were first published at Rome by Antonio Blado d'Asola, with Mariano Lenzi as editor. The book enjoyed immediate popularity and influence throughout Europe. It had gone through twenty-five editions and printings by 1607, and the influence of Leone Hebreo can be detected in authors as diverse as Pontus du Tyard, Jorge de Montemayor, Giordano Bruno, and, much later, Baruch Spinoza. It was doubtless this popularity which spurred Paulus Manutius to publish a number of Aldine editions, the 1541 being his first effort. A curiosity of the Aldine editions is the statement on the title page that the author had converted to Christianity, an assertion for which there is no supporting evidence whatsoever. Indeed, several times in the body of the work Abrabanel clearly refers to himself as a Jew. Possibly the statement was added to boost sales or to add to or conserve the impression of the religious orthodoxy of the press.

REFERENCES: Adams, A-60; BM STC Italian, 3; Brunet, 3:984; *Enciclopedia italiana*, 20:900; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2:109–11; Grässe, 4:165; Renouard, 123, no. 10; UCLA, 273.



**GLIASOLANI DI MESSER
PIETRO BEMBO.**

COLOPHON: Impressi in Venetia nelle Case d'Aldo Romano nel anno .MDV. del mese di Marzo. [1505]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [194] p.; 20 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: a-m⁸ n² (N2 blank; signature n [errata] tipped in).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red embossed leather, sewn on single cords, with single front-beaded green/yellow worked endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, spine, board edges, and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), prominent humanist, poet, and churchman, was born into an aristocratic Venetian family. He received a humanist classical education and early turned his attention to both scholarly pursuits and the writing of poetry in the vernacular. Bembo was closely involved with the Aldine Press from its very inception; among the first books issued by Aldus was the Greek grammar of Constantine Lascaris, printed after a copy provided to Aldus by Bembo, who had studied with Lascaris at Messina for two years. In 1496, Bembo's own first work, *De Aetna*, was published by Aldus, and in 1501–02 Bembo edited Petrarch's *Rime sparse* and Dante's *Commedia* for Aldus. Meanwhile, Bembo pursued a career in public life as he continued to venture his own literary productions, such as this book, the early courtly dialogue *Gli Asolani*.

Gli Asolani was apparently conceived and begun sometime between 1497 and 1499, while Bembo was living at Ferrara, where he was studying philosophy at

the school of Niccolò Leonicensi, besides enjoying the sophisticated pleasures of the court of the d'Este. As a setting for his courtly dialogue, Bembo chose Asola, the only place in the Venetian Republic where there was a court; it was presided over by Caterina Cornaro, former queen of Cyprus (and also Bembo's cousin). The book describes a wedding feast at Asola, during which a discussion ensues concerning love. The debate centers around the issue of whether love is a good or a bad thing. Thus in Book I, the miseries of love, portrayed in the vein of Petrarchan poetry, are set forth. In Book II, the contrasting theme of the joys of love predominates, and the self-described sufferings of the poets are condemned as falsehoods. Book III attempts a synthesis but takes a surprise turn when all earthly love is roundly condemned in favor of a purely spiritual love. This discussion is interspersed throughout with poems which already demonstrate Bembo's strong conviction that Italian, as a poetic language, needed to be refined and reformed, with Petrarch's work as its model. As for its subject, *Gli Asolani* may well have established Bembo as the preeminent philosopher of his generation; for the modern reader it recalls the portrait of Bembo and his philosophy as presented in Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*. Oddly enough, however, the irresolution of the argument, combined with the ultimate rejection of any sort of human love, creates a very different picture of Bembo's views on these matters from those immortalized by Castiglione.

Castiglione and Bembo would have known each other at the court of Urbino, where Bembo resided from 1506 to 1512. After 1512 he departed Urbino for Rome, where he was soon appointed to the apostolic secretariat by Pope Leo X. While in Rome, Bembo continued his literary career, becoming involved particularly in a quarrel with Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola over the theory of imitation. Bembo disapproved of the eclecticism in style displayed by many humanists, who often drew stylistic principles from classical authors generally regarded as inferior to the great exemplars of Latin poetic and prose style, Virgil and Cicero. Bembo believed, rather, that only the best and purest Latin style should be imitated at all and that, if Cicero was the best, it was proper to imitate Cicero's style exclusively. This vogue for "Ciceronianism" sparked a rancorous quarrel among

humanists which spread far beyond Italy and continued well into the middle years of the sixteenth century.

In 1521, Bembo retired to Padua, where he began a period of intense intellectual and literary activity. He revised earlier works such as *Gli Asolani* (a second edition was published by the Aldine Press in 1530), and produced new ones, including *Prose della volgar lingua*, his enthusiastic defense of the value of Italian as a literary language. In 1530 he was appointed librarian and historian of the Venetian Republic, and assisted in such projects as the proper housing of the magnificent library bequeathed to Venice by Cardinal Bessarion while producing twelve books of the history of Venice (published posthumously in 1551, see NO. 66). In 1538 he was made a cardinal, and in 1547 died in Rome of an injury incurred while riding, for which he refused medical treatment.

The first edition of *Gli Asolani* has attracted attention in no small part because certain copies of it—but not all—contain a dedication to the famous and notorious Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of Pope Alexander VI, sister of Cesare Borgia, and duchess of Ferrara. Intrigued by the absence of the dedication to the duchess in some copies, Renouard theorized that Aldus had been led to suppress the letter because of the outbreak of a quarrel in 1505 between Lucrezia's husband, Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, and Pope Julius II. This rather romantic explanation has been disputed by recent scholarship both on chronological grounds and on the basis of the physical evidence. Renouard, for example, asserted mistakenly that the copies with the dedication are more rare than the copies without, when in fact the reverse is true. Furthermore, both those books with and without the dedication were printed early in 1505, before the outbreak of the quarrel, which occurred in the autumn of that year. It appears that a more likely, if more mundane, solution to the mystery may be that Bembo was late in getting his dedicatory letter to the press, so that some few copies were printed without it, and that the author attempted to cover his lapse by backdating the letter to the previous year. It is quite possible that Bembo's delay was caused by his having to wait for Lucrezia's permission to dedicate the work to her, and it is also possible that Aldus went ahead and printed the defective copies without waiting for Bembo's permission.

Some of Aldus's scholarly friends, perhaps not realizing his debt to Bembo, saw the time and effort expended on the publication of such works as *Gli Asolani* as a waste of the printer's valuable resources. Johann Kuno lamented at the end of 1505 that the appearance of *Gli Asolani*, "a few odds and ends in the vernacular, about love," indicated that Aldus was no longer doing anything important (Lowry, 152). More recently, similar complaints have been voiced about Bembo's own failure to spend his time pursuing his early promise as a Greek scholar (Wilson [1992], 126–27). In fact, *Gli Asolani*, important as it was for Bembo's career, remains a work much neglected by modern scholarship.

REFERENCES: Adams, B-578; American STC Italian, 1:191; BM STC Italian, 80; Brunet, 1:766; Clough [1969]; Clough [1972]; *DBI*, 8:133–51; Gamba, 132; Grässe, 1:333; Panzer, 8:376, no. 306; Renouard, 48, no. 1; Scott, 141–43; Sowell, 15; UCLA, 72.

* * *

4 I Baldassare Castiglione. *Il libro del cortegiano*

COLOPHON: In Venetia nelle case d'Aldo Romano, & d'Andrea d'Asola suo Suocero, nell'anno M.D. XXVIII. del mese d'Aprile. [1528]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [244] p.; 32 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: *⁴ a–o⁸ p⁶.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Dark blue goatskin, sewn on single cords, with double front-beaded blue/yellow/red endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. False bands on spine. Blind and gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, spine, board edges and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

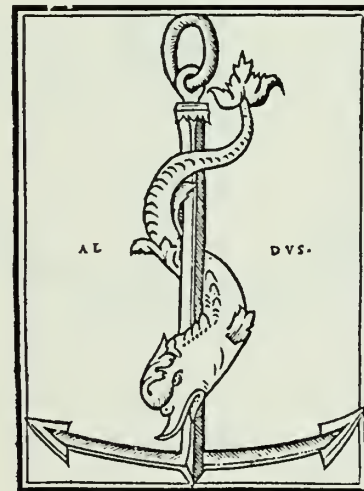
Il libro del cortegiano, Castiglione's magnum opus, is arguably one of the most influential books of the sixteenth century and certainly enjoyed an incomparable reputation in its own time. Its author (1478–1529), born

at Casatico near Mantua, was related through his mother to the Gonzaga, the ruling family at Mantua. Educated there and in Milan, he took service briefly with the Gonzaga family as a diplomat and courtier. In 1504 he moved on to the service of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, and his duchess, Elisabetta Gonzaga. In 1506 Castiglione journeyed to London on behalf of the duke, who had been made a Knight of the Garter by King Henry VII. This same year provides the time, and Urbino the setting and inspiration, for *Il libro del cortegiano*, which Castiglione began writing some seven years later while in the service of Guidobaldo's nephew and heir, Francesco Maria della Rovere. Castiglione was moved, as he relates in the dedicatory letter to Don Michel da Silva, by the memory of duke Guidobaldo's virtue and the delight he felt in the company of those then at Urbino. Castiglione claims to have written the first draft in a few days and never to have found afterwards the leisure to bring the work to the perfection he desired. Indeed, he seems to have worked on it only intermittently until about 1524. In the following year his career took him to Spain as papal nuncio. By this time the book was already circulating in manuscript and parts of it had already been copied. Fears that his work might be pirated convinced Castiglione to entrust his manuscript to his friend Giovanni Battista Ramusio in Venice. Ramusio and Pietro Bembo supervised its printing and revised its final proofs for publication by the Aldine Press in April 1528. We know, however, that Castiglione passed on precise instructions to the printers and that, although the 1528 Aldine is the first edition, Castiglione remained dissatisfied with it and continued to work on the text until his death.

The book purports to be the report of a debate among the courtiers of the duke of Urbino on the subject of what conditions and qualities make up the perfect courtier. On the first day they discuss the different physical and moral virtues that the ideal courtier should possess. He must be of noble blood and skilled in the arts of war, but Castiglione goes far beyond that, detailing not only a long list of physical accomplishments and moral qualities, such as prudence and temperance, but insisting on the need for the ideal courtier to have humanist knowledge and the ability to write both prose and verse, and moreover to do all of

this with a grace and an ease of manner (*sprezzatura*) that will make each action or quality, no matter how extraordinary, seem absolutely effortless. Similarly high expectations are set forth on the third day when the ideal court lady is described, with the difference that Castiglione, as a champion of a liberal education for women, spends much time in simply demonstrating that women indeed are intelligent and virtuous and worthy in every respect of such an education. From a discussion of women *per se* the talk turns to a discourse on the relationship between men and women, and particularly on what is proper to do in the matter of love. Love, treated in the Neoplatonic vein, will again turn up in the last part of the final book, when Pietro Bembo discourses upon love as the desire to enjoy true beauty. The particular beauty of one woman, Bembo says, will lead to a love of the universal beauty which adorns all and induce a kind of spiritual awakening in which the lover will eventually be given over to the contemplation of the divine.

IL LIBRO DEL CORTEGIANO
DEL CONTE BALDESAR
CASTIGLIONE.



Hassi nel priuilegio, & nella gratia ottenuta dalla Illustrissima
Signoria che in questa, ne in niun'altra Citta del suo
dominio si possa imprimere, ne altroue
impresso uendere questo libro
del Cortegiano per .x. anni
sotto le pene in esso
contenute.

Il libro del cortegiano enjoyed a raging success in its own time. By the end of the century it had been translated into every major European language. The depth of its appeal to its contemporaries may be shown by the story that the emperor Charles V kept three books at his bedside: the Bible, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, and Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. It disseminated Italian manners and accomplishments across Europe, providing a model of urbane repartee and sophisticated dialogue whose descendants could be seen well into the eighteenth century (in the salons of Paris, for example). Furthermore, it helped popularize both humanist ideals concerning education and the Christian Neoplatonism created by the Florentine Academy and others during the previous century.

REFERENCES: Adams, C-924; Bietenholz, 1:279; BM STC Italian, 156; Brunet, 1:1628; *DBI*, 22:53–68; Grässe, 2:65; Panzer, 8:507, no. 1444; Renouard, 105, no. 3; Sowell, 22; UCLA, 219; Woodhouse, 34; UCLA, 219.

* * *

42 Isabella Sforza. *Della vera tranquillità dell'animo*

COLOPHON: In casa de' figliuoli di Aldo. In Vinegia, nel mese di Luglio, M.D.XLIII. [1544] [date also on title page]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 52 [i.e., 53], [1] leaves; 20 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: A–M⁴ N⁶.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown goatskin, sewn on recessed cords, with brown rolled leather endbands. False bands on spine. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Blind-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers and spine. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

We know very little about the author of this essay. It seems that the Isabella Sforza to whom the work was attributed was most likely the illegitimate daughter (1503–1563) of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, the son of a lesser branch of the famous Sforza family who

became dukes of Milan. We know that Isabella was married to a noble Florentine called Cipriano del Neri. She was also the author of another work, *Dello stato femminile*, and appears as the author of several letters in a work edited by Ortensio Landi called *Lettere di molte valorose donne* (1549). This innovative collection purportedly contained the correspondence of a number of noble and literate women of northern Italy, although it has been alleged that Landi wrote the letters himself. The book has also been mistakenly attributed to another Isabella Sforza (more properly Isabella d'Aragona, duchess of Milan, married to Gian Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan). The duchess, however, died twenty years before the publication of this treatise, and it is highly unlikely that she was the author of this book.

DELLA VERA TRANQVILLITA' DELL' ANIMO.

Opera utilissima, & nuouamente composta dalla Illustrissima Signora la Signora Isabella Sforza.



M. D. XLIII.

Con priuilegio del sommo Pontefice Papa Paolo III. & della Illustrissima Signoria Di Vinegia, per anni X.

Landi, who called himself by the pseudonym "Il Tranquillo," was a champion of female learning (Jordan, 138). In his preface to *Della vera tranquillità dell'animo* he speaks of the signora Isabella Sforza as his friend and a person of "the highest genius." As editor, he alleges,

judging her writings superior to his own, he has talked her into publishing this little meditative treatise. *Della vera tranquillità dell'animo* is very much a devotional work, but it could also be fully described as a humanist treatise, packed with classical references and allusions. Like many works by female humanists, it remains largely unknown. Some few female humanists, such as the Venetian Cassandra Fedele, achieved fame (and notoriety) in their own time; Fedele corresponded with Poliziano, who praised her highly, to the point of saying that her accomplishments equaled those of his friend Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. These women normally came from prominent families, and typically their careers as linguists and scholars were either cut short by marriage or continued within the walls of a convent (King, 67–69). It seems that their accomplishments, while admired by many of their male contemporaries, were not generally taken very seriously. Although many humanists pushed for better education for women (including the study of Latin and Greek) and sometimes even wrote “defenses” of women designed to promote opportunities for them to use their skills and intelligence, they seldom if ever gave up notions concerning an innate male superiority. Even today the writings of female humanists have remained the province of a mere handful of highly specialized scholars, and their contribution to the intellectual climate of their times remains seriously understudied. It is thus highly significant that the Aldine Press should publish this work and preserve Sforza’s thought for posterity.

REFERENCES: Adams, S-1044; American STC Italian, 3:164; BM STC Italian, 624; Brunet, 5:331; Grässe, 6:380; *New Century Italian Renaissance Encyclopedia*, 870; Renouard, 129, no. 1; Sowell, 41; UCLA, 285.

* * *

43 Desiderius Erasmus, trans. *Hecuba & Iphigenia in Aulis Euripidis tragoediae in Latinam tralatæ*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi mense Decembri M.DVII. [1507]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [80] leaves; 17 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: pi⁸ (pi⁷ blank) a–i⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown sprinkled calfskin, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded green/red endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Red sprinkled edges. Simple gold-tooling, blind-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers. Blind-tooling on turn-ins, gold-tooling with ornaments on spine and board edges. Title gold-tooled onto red leather on spine.

**H E C U B A, & Iphigenia in Aulide Euripidis
tragoedia in latinum tralatæ Erasmo
Roterodamo interprete.**

**E I V S D E M Ode de laudibus Britanniae, Regisq;
Henrici septimi, ac regiorum liberorum eius.**

B I V S D E M Ode de senectutis incommodis.



Erasmus (1469?–1536), who has been called the most significant intellectual in the Europe of his generation, was born at Rotterdam around 1469, an illegitimate child. By 1484 he had lost both his parents to the plague. In 1487 he entered an Augustinian monastery at Steyn and in 1492 became a priest. In the following year, however, with the permission of his superiors, he left the monastery to become secretary to Hendrik of

Bergen, bishop of Cambrai. By this time he was already an accomplished Latinist—having indeed mastered the language well enough to compose poetry in it by his early teens—and moreover a confirmed humanist, already well read in the classics. He attended the University of Paris briefly in 1495–96, but soon gave it up, partly because poverty forced him to turn to making a living by teaching, although he also later recounts his disgust with university scholasticism. Sometime in the 1490s he had begun to learn Greek. Whether or not he had a tutor in the language remains unclear; he may have been, like Budé, an autodidact (Rummel, 9–10). Already well known in humanist circles through his blossoming correspondence, in 1499 he traveled to England at the invitation of his pupil, Lord Mountjoy; there he met his lifelong friends John Colet and Thomas More. By 1501, Erasmus was on his way to establishing his European-wide reputation as a scholar with an edition of Cicero's *De officiis* and the publication of his *Adagia*, a collection of Greek and Latin proverbs with learned commentary. In spite of such accomplishments, he himself was not satisfied with the state of his Greek until several years later. When he finally felt confident of his abilities, around 1506, he had published (in Paris, by Josse Bade) his translation of Euripides's *Hecuba*, the first complete Greek tragedy to be translated into Latin verse.

Erasmus led, particularly in the first decade of the sixteenth century, a singularly itinerant existence, traveling not only to England but to France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. It was from Bologna, in 1507, that he first wrote in a rather tentative, flattering manner to Aldus Manutius with the proposal that Aldus should republish his Euripides translations:

It is quite certain that for all ages to come the name of Aldo Manuzio will be on the lips of every person who is initiated into the rites of letters. Your memory in after-time, like your reputation at present, will inspire not merely honour but also affection and love, because . . . you devote yourself to reviving and disseminating good writers. . . . you strive at enormous tasks that will one day bring you undying renown—but which for the time being profit others rather than yourself. (CWE, 2:131 [Ep. 207], trans. Mynors)

Erasmus, of course, stood to benefit by having Aldus publish his translations, for Aldus's name already carried a great cachet, particularly in Italy (Lowry, 220). But he had other motives besides furthering his reputation. Erasmus had never been happy with Bade's version of his translation, which he complained was full of errors, and he allowed Aldus, who accepted his proposal, a free hand in correcting any mistakes. The collaboration succeeded in both aims. A greatly improved version of the translation of Euripides appeared in 1507, published together with two poems of Erasmus, one a panegyric of Henry VII of England, the other written on the subject of old age and dedicated to the Swiss physician Wilhelm Kopp, himself a highly esteemed translator of Greek medical works and a friend of Erasmus from his days in Paris. Furthermore, the collaboration with Aldus did indeed help Erasmus further his career, as Francesco Torresani reminded Erasmus, to whom he dedicated the Aldine Bible (1518): "It was Aldus who made your name illustrious in Italy."

In 1508 Erasmus arrived in Venice to embark on the second stage of this collaboration, the editing and expansion of the *Adagia*, a project which, as Erasmus remarks, "Aldus eagerly received" (*Apologia brevis ad 24 libros Alberti Pii*, LB, 9:1136 F). During some eight months, Erasmus lodged at the house of Andrea Torresani, working feverishly on the production of more commentary for ever more proverbs. He was able to take advantage both of the libraries of Venice and of the knowledge of Aldus and his circle, including scholars like Janus Lascaris, Marcus Musurus, and Battista Egnazio, so that the Aldine version of the *Adagia*, published in 1508, grew from the 841 proverbs of Bade's 1500 edition to well over 3,000. Erasmus worked right in Aldus's shop, and the manuscript was taken immediately from his desk to the press with no chance for revision. "The labor was such that there was no time to scratch one's ears," Erasmus later recalled. "Aldus very often declared that he was astonished that I wrote so much *ex tempore* and amid such a tumult of surrounding noise." Aldus himself appears in the *Adagia* in the entry under "festina lente," when Erasmus explains the connection between this proverb and the dolphin-and-anchor emblem (see discussion in NO. 8).

The production of the *Adagia* proved worth the labor involved, for it was a great success both for Aldus and for Erasmus. The expanded edition became a European best-seller and put Erasmus firmly among the humanist celebrities of the day (Lowry, 151, 228). Erasmus himself, although he never returned to Venice after the completion of the project, seems to have retained pleasant memories of Aldus, whom he regarded with evident affection as well as respect. Three and a half years after the death of Aldus, he reminisced about the printer to a friend:

Aldus, when the conversation was running free, used to be rather amusing, imitating the broken accents of a decrepit old man which he thought we should use in time to come in addressing one another. 'And how goes it then, Master Erasmus?' he would say; and then in just such a snuffling voice, but rather weaker (representing me) he would reply 'If you're all right, I'm all right.' . . . Before he had reached that toothless age, he left us. (CWE, 6:129, trans. Mynors)

This affection did not extend by any means to all the members of Aldus's family, establishment, and friends. In his satiric dialogue *Opulentia sordida* ("Stingy wealth"), composed much later in 1531, we find a stinging portrait of Andrea Torresani as the prince of cheap-skates, a man of riches who nonetheless lets his guests go hungry on sour wine and thin soup. By the time of its composition, Erasmus's links with the Aldine Press were a thing of the past and he was in the thick of feuds with Italian scholars like Alberto Pio and Girolamo Aleandro, whose acquaintance he had made through Aldus Manutius. The personal animosity excited toward Erasmus in Italian humanist and clerical circles by his refusal to take their side, clearly and unequivocally and immediately, in the quarrel with Luther had been preceded by a long period of estrangement on his part from Italian humanist concerns. The humanism espoused by Erasmus was strongly Christian and devout, and he was not impressed by the pagan attitudes of the Italians. Moreover, he mocked the Ciceronianism which dominated the peninsula; in his dialogue *Ciceronianus* (1528) he made it clear that he thought of Ciceronianism as a kind of mental defect. Even before

Aldus died Erasmus was giving his business by preference to Johannes Froben of Basel. He did apparently have some thoughts of publishing a second expanded version of his edition of the Greek New Testament with the Aldine Press; but upon learning that they were already preparing their own edition of the Bible, he again turned to Froben (1519). Whether or not this neglect and estrangement were deliberate, they were certainly taken as such by men such as Alberto Pio, who accused Erasmus of insulting the memory of Aldus Manutius and added disparaging remarks to the effect that Erasmus had learned his Greek from Aldus and had been no more than an office boy during his stay in Venice. Therefore it is not surprising that the Aldine Press subsequently published only minor works by Erasmus. (For notes on one such work, see NO. 54.)

REFERENCES: Adams, E-1045; American STC Italian, 1:570; Bietenholz, 1:28-32, 2:376-80, 3:86-88, 332-33; BM STC Italian, 239; Brunet, 2:1101; Erasmus [1965]; Grässe, 2:523; Halkin; Panzer, 8:386, no. 395; Renouard, 15, no. 1; UCLA, 79.

* * *

44 Guillaume Budé. *De asse*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae Asulani soceri mense Septembri .M.D.XXI. [1522]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [12], 262 [i.e., 260], [2] leaves; 22 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: 2a⁸ 2b⁴ a-u⁸ (-u7-8, u7-8 blank) A-N⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown goatskin, sewn on single raised cords, with double front-beaded green/yellow/brown endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. False bands on spine. Gold-tooled with ornaments and leather onlays on front and back covers and spine. Simple gold tooling on board edges, turn-ins and endcaps. Bound by Marius Michel.

Capitals and anchors gilded and rubricated throughout.

GVILLIELMI BVDAEI PARISIENSIS SE
 cretarij Regij libri V. de Asse, & partib. eius post duas
 Parisienses impressiones ab eodem ipso Budæo casti-
 gati, idq; authore IO. GROLIERIO
 Lugdunensi Christianissimi Gallorū Re-
 gis Secretario, et Galliarū copia-
 rum Quæstore, cui etiam
 ob nostrā in eum ob-
 servantiā a no-
 bis illi di-
 catur.

M. D. XXXI.



Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) was born into a family of civil servants and began his career in 1483 when he was sent to Orléans to study law, a subject for which he initially had little enthusiasm. During his student years, however, he decided all at once to dedicate himself to humanist learning. Like many northern European humanists, he had virtually no texts and certainly no access to a teacher of Greek, but he somehow managed nevertheless to acquire a knowledge of Greek. He continued, however, to pursue a public career in the tradition of his family. He was a secretary to King Charles VIII; and although he retired from court for a time during the reign of Louis XII, he continued to fill diplomatic missions for the French crown, including one to Venice in 1501. We do not know if Budé met Aldus Manutius during that visit, but it seems reasonable to assume that he did. In the first place, Budé and Aldus shared a number of friends; secondly, as early as 1500 Budé had corresponded with Aldus concerning an attempt by Aldus to find a manuscript of Pliny the Younger (Lowry, 282; see NO. 24).

Budé therefore had, by the time of his visit to Venice, the reputation of a scholar, and he quickly became part of the international network of humanists of which Aldus was such an important part. Budé devoted much time and energy to the promotion of humanism in France. He encouraged and supported Girolamo Aleandro, for example, during his sojourn in Paris from 1508 onward. Aleandro was another friend of Aldus and thus helped establish a firm link between the Aldine Press and Paris. Moreover, Budé, after his return to court upon the accession of Francis I in 1515, used his position to promote humanism, a project to which the new king was amenable. Budé had himself, up to this point, produced Latin translations of Plutarch and St. Basil and, in 1508, a learned commentary on the Pandects, a collection of Roman laws made by order of the emperor Justinian from the writings of Roman jurists. His reputation as a humanist of the greatest erudition was established, however, in 1515, with the publication of *De asse et partibus eius*.

De asse is a treatise on Roman coinage, but it also contains in its lengthy epilogue (printed as Book V in the Aldine edition) a manifesto arguing for the necessity of humanism in a Christian education. Budé sets forth philosophical arguments to convince his audience that the truly educated Christian must study not just the Bible and the writings of the church fathers, but all types and forms of knowledge. Wisdom must be gathered from wherever it can be found, so that in the end the Christian may recognize truth when he sees it. The foundation of such an education, of course, is the attainment of Latin and Greek, and its next step is the mastery of eloquence, the garb of philosophy. It is Budé's view that all types of knowledge, no matter how remote their subject matter may appear from religious preoccupations, are useful in the Christian humanist pursuit of wisdom. Thus *De asse* itself, although appearing to be a very specialized study of one particular Roman coin, is among other things a meditation on the use and abuse of wealth, designed not merely to help the reader better understand money but to induce reflection on the injustices of the age, including ecclesiastical abuses (La Garanderie, 2:121–30). Although recognized by Budé's contemporaries as a valuable restatement of humanist aims and principles, *De asse* did attract criticism on the

basis of its heavy, obscure, and ornate style, which Erasmus tactfully wrote “might be thought to part company somewhat with the simplicity of nature” (*CWE*, 4:110). The difficulty of conquering Budé’s Latin is in no small measure responsible for the neglect into which *De asse* has fallen in subsequent centuries.

On the strength of his growing reputation as France’s foremost scholar, Budé in 1522 was appointed royal librarian. He at once ordered all French embassies to procure all the Greek texts they could find for the king’s new library at Fontainebleau. Books from the Aldine Press dominated these purchases. Budé continued his twin career as humanist and public servant until his death in 1540, using one position to enhance the other. He was intimately involved in the founding of the Collège de France in 1529. He produced several more books, all of a philological or philosophical character. After 1534, when the notorious *affaire des placards* rocked the French court with suspicions of Lutheranism, Budé spent much effort in trying to dissociate humanism from the Lutheran heresy.

It was also in 1522 that Jean Grolier, a French diplomat in Venice and a passionate bibliophile, wrote to Francesco d’Asola that he wished to publish Budé’s *De asse* at his own expense. The Paris edition, Grolier complained, was very imperfectly printed, and he exhorted Francesco to take the greatest care to see that his friend Budé’s book was correctly printed, for which purpose Grolier sent a copy “diligently reviewed and corrected by the author” (Le Roux de Lincy, 35). Moreover, Grolier, who had a devotion to the beauty of books amounting almost to mania, insisted on perfection in paper and typesetting and begged Francesco “to combine beauty with elegance” in the production, without regard to expense, for Grolier would reimburse him for everything. Francesco d’Asola carefully mentions in his dedication of the book to Grolier that he has indeed worked from the corrected copy and that the book is an improvement on the Parisian edition especially because it eschews marginalia in favor of explanatory notes at the end of the text. Although Francesco makes no boast of the appearance of the book, it is evident from BYU’s copy that this is a very fine example of Aldine printing, further enhanced by exceptional nineteenth-century gilding and binding.

PROVENANCE: Francis Kettaneh.

REFERENCES: Adams, B-3101; American STC Italian, 1:309; Bietenholz, 1:212–17; BM STC Italian, 129; Brunet, 1:1374; Grässe, 1:565; Lowry, 245, 259, 280–85; Panzer, 8:472, no. 112; Renouard, 94, no. 3; UCLA, 185.

* * *

45 Christophe de Longueil. *Perduellionis rei defensiones duae*

CHRISTOPHORI LONGOLII
CIVIS ROMANI PERDV-
ELLIONIS REI DE-
FENSIONES
DVAE.



COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae soceri.
[not before 1519]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 56, [4] leaves; 17 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: a–g⁸ h⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum, sewn on recessed cords, with single front-beaded red/yellow laced-in endbands. Plain

endpapers and pastedowns. Brown edges. Blind-stamped medallion with coat-of-arms: Hon. George M. Fortescue. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto two leather labels (one black, one brown) and paper label on spine. Bound with Trogi Pompei Externae historiae ... [Aldus, 1522].

Christophe de Longueil (1488–1522) was the illegitimate son of Antoine de Longueil, bishop of Saint-Pol-de-Léon, himself the scion of a very distinguished family. Acknowledged and cared for by his father, he was sent at the tender age of nine to Paris to study at the Collège du Plessis. After his father's death three years later, he abandoned studies for a time in favor of the military life. It was not until 1506, after adventures with Louis XII on the Italian campaign and a journey to England and Spain in the suite of the duke of Burgundy, that Longueil resumed scholarly pursuits. He read law at Bologna and Poitiers; in 1510 he began to earn some celebrity as an orator with a speech in praise of the king and the French nation, which led to his being received by the heir to the throne, the future Francis I. Four years later Longueil received his doctorate in law and in the following year was appointed to the Parlement of Paris. Rather than pursuing a legal career, however, he left almost immediately for Rome, bearing a letter of recommendation from Guillaume Budé.

In Rome, Longueil did study Greek with teachers such as Janus Lascaris and Marcus Musurus, but his celebrity developed not around such an apprenticeship but around the perfection of his Latin. Like Pietro Bembo and others at the court of Pope Leo X, Longueil was a Ciceronian who chose to spurn the stylistic eclecticism of humanists such as Poliziano and Erasmus in favor of a "pure" Latin which never departed from Cicero's usage in syntax and vocabulary. The fact that a foreigner not only aspired to but actually attained Ciceronian purity not only aroused the most intense interest at Rome but created patriotic resentment in certain circles where Latin was regarded as the patrimony only of the Italians. Longueil became the center of a heated controversy. His eloquence in his own defense caused the city council of Rome to propose awarding him Roman citizenship. This excited such hostility that a

hearing on the matter had to be held in the presence of the pope himself and his cardinals, for which Longueil composed these orations to sustain his claim to the title *civis Romanus*. He did not appear at this trial, however, having decided prudently to stay away from Rome for a while, and his request to have them read at the trial was not granted; instead they were published afterwards. Meanwhile, Longueil traveled in northern Europe, returning to France and to the low countries, where he reestablished his contacts among northern humanists. He did not return to Italy until well after he had won his case and been awarded Roman citizenship. A scholar of the narrowest interests, he devoted the few remaining years of his life to refining and purifying his Latin still further in the constant pursuit of perfect Ciceronian style, supported in his studies by patrons such as Leo X and, after the pope's death in 1521, Cardinal Reginald Pole. He died prematurely in 1522.

Longueil is a peculiar figure, a man whose accomplishments—such as they were—became a magnet for controversy, and who caused great passions in his contemporaries, although he left very little in the way of actual writings by which we can judge his work. In Rome he moved in the very highest circles. The dedication to his defense is written by Battista Casali, the most renowned orator of the day in Rome, and is addressed to the powerful Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, himself an accomplished Latinist as well as a very important political figure. Bembo, too, then apostolic secretary, took a personal interest in Longueil, as did the pope himself. Longueil became a symbol for the Ciceronian movement and as such has been aptly described as both its hero and its victim (*La Garanderie*, 2:118). Years after his death he continued to represent, for the Ciceronians, their ideal orator. He also became a lodestar for French humanists, perhaps because of his celebrity in Rome, or perhaps because of his marked chauvinism in favor of the French. He openly compared Erasmus and Budé, for example, to the benefit of the latter. Erasmus's own quarrel with Budé was not eased by such comparisons. Furthermore, as the champion of anti-Ciceronianism, Erasmus was outspokenly critical of efforts to imitate Cicero exclusively. The character Nosoponus in his 1528 dialogue *Ciceronianus*, who suffers from a mental derangement diagnosed as excessive mania for imitation,

was widely taken at the time to be a caricature of Longueil. As late as 1535–36, the defense of Longueil was still providing inspiration for Ciceronians such as Etienne Dolet and Julius Caesar Scaliger. It is not surprising, given the enormous excitement about this question in the intellectual circles of the time, that the Aldine firm chose to reprint Longueil's self-defense. Their edition was dated by Renouard to 1518 but most probably was printed the following year.

REFERENCES: Adams, L-1445; American STC Italian, 2:275; Bietenholz, 2:342–45; Brunet, 3:1153; Grässe, 4:253; Renouard, 263, no. 22.

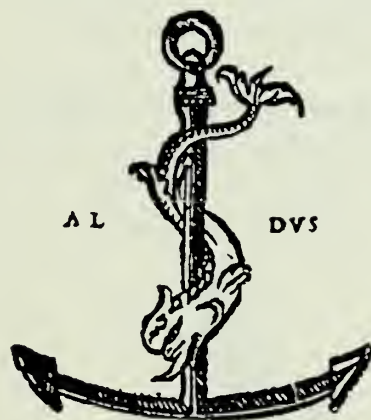
* * *

46 Matthaeus Fortunatus, ed. *L. Annei Senecae naturalium quaestionum libri VII*

L. ANNEI SENECAE NATVRA-
LIVM QVAESTIONVM
LIBRI VII.

Matthaei Fortunati in eisdem libros annotationes.

Index rerum notatu dignarum in calce operis appositus.



COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Asulani
soceri, mense Februario M.D.XXII [1522, i.e., 1523]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [6], 130, [6] leaves; 21 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: *⁶ a–g⁸ h¹⁰ i–q⁸ r⁶.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown sheepskin over wooden boards backed with white pigskin spine, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded tan/natural endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns, yellow edges. Metal catchplates on front foreedge. Remnants of leather strap on back foreedge. Blind-stamped with ornaments on front and back covers. Blind-tooled on turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto brown leather label and pasted onto spine. Calligraphed date on spine.

Matthaeus Fortunatus was born probably some time after 1480 in Hungary but may have been of either Slavonian, Dalmatian, or Croatian origins. We in fact know almost nothing about his background, education, or career, until the point when he met an older Hungarian humanist, István Broderics (known as Brodericus), at Buda and accompanied him on a 1522 embassy to Italy. At the time, humanism in Hungary was flourishing, thanks in no small measure to the reputation of the poet Janus Pannonius (Ivan Česmički), who had studied in Italy under Guarino Guarini of Verona and become a poet of renown. When he returned to Hungary, he not only carried humanism with him but became the center of a virtual cult because of his own highly respected abilities. Indeed, Brodericus had tried, in 1505, to persuade Aldus to publish an edition of the poems of Janus Pannonius, a request that was apparently ignored (Lowry, 287–88). Aldus was highly regarded and very influential in eastern European humanist circles. He apparently had known a number of important Hungarians from his student days and corresponded with the queen of Hungary, Anne de Foix.

Fortunatus arrived in Venice in April 1522. He moved on, however, to study Greek and Latin at Padua, depending for his livelihood on both Italian and Hungarian patrons in Italy such as Prince Gianludovico Saluzzo. His edition of Seneca, published by the Aldine Press, was dedicated to this patron. Fortunatus based his work largely on the edition of Seneca published by Erasmus at Basel in

1515. However, he corrected many mistakes and produced an edition that is philologically much superior. His work is now regarded as being the first effort of its kind in Hungarian classical studies. Erasmus generously praised this accomplishment and, in fact, when his own work was reissued in 1529, made Fortunatus coeditor of the volume.

By that time, however, Fortunatus had disappeared from the scene. Some time after 1524 he left Italy and returned to Hungary. His contacts, and indeed those of his countrymen, with Italian humanism and with the Aldine Press were almost completely broken by the disastrous battle of Mohacs (1526) and the subsequent Turkish conquest (Lowry 288). Fortunatus himself disappears, and it is Erasmus, about 1528, who reports learning that Fortunatus has died, under what circumstances we do not know.

REFERENCES: Adams, S-932; American STC Italian, 3:157; Bietenholz, 1:203-4, 2:45-46, 233-34; BM STC Italian, 621; Brunet, 5:279; Grässe, 6:351; Panzer, 8:472, no. 1118; Renouard, 96, no. 10; UCLA, 182.

* * *

47 Vinko Pribojević. *Della origine et successi de gli Slavi*

COLOPHON: In Venetia, [MD]XCV. Presso Aldo. [1595]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [16], 79, [1] p.; 23 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: a⁸ A-K⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Undyed pigskin, sewn on double raised cords, with single front-beaded dark green endbands. Natural tackets at the head and tail. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Ring and pin clasps. Title gold-tooled onto spine.

Vinko Pribojević, also known by the Latinized names of Vincentius Pribevo, Pribenio, or Pribaenius, and also called Vincentius de Lesina, came from the city of Lesina (or Hvar) on the Adriatic island known as Pharos to the

ancients and to its inhabitants as Hvar; he was probably of Dalmatian origin. Hvar, a prosperous trading community, and all of the Dalmatian coast had been under the dominion of Venice for some considerable time, although in 1511 control of this area had passed to the Turks. We do not know if Pribojević was present during this upheaval or whether he was in Italy; nor do we know what age he might have been when these events occurred or what influence they might have had on his career. He states in his oration that he received a humanist education and then proceeded to the study of theology. He became a Dominican monk as an adult, being first mentioned in connection with the Dominican house in Lesina in 1522; some time between then and 1532, he apparently migrated to the Italian peninsula, where he is known to have spent time in Venice and elsewhere. He probably studied at an Italian university and became a professor of theology, but it is not known where he taught (Novak, 9-10, 26-27).

DELLA
ORIGINE ET SVCCESSI
DEGLI
SLAVI
ORATIONE.
DI M. VINCENZO PRIBEVO
DALMATINO DA LESENA.
gia recitata da lui nella medesima
CITTÀ
Et hora tradotta dalla lingua latina nell'Italiana
DA BELLISARIO MALASPALLI DA
SPALATO.
CON PRIVILEGIO.



IN VENETIA, CIO. IO. XCV.
Presso Aldo.

The oration which this book contains was apparently delivered in Venice in 1525. Its intent was to demonstrate and praise the greatness and glory of the Slavic people, especially the city of Hvar and its inhabitants. In his account of the origins of the Slavs, Pribojević referred both to traditional explanations—the Slavs were, like the rest of Europeans, descended from Japheth, the son of Noah—and, in proving their distinction, to the more humanistic assertion of the Slavic origin of famous classical figures, particularly the kings of Macedon and Aristotle himself, who hailed from the Macedonian city of Stagira (Novak, 17). The oration, delivered originally in Latin, was published in 1532 at

Venice by the firm of Giovanni Antonio de Nicolini da Sabbio. Although this work was apparently not followed by any other noteworthy oratorical accomplishments, it made a deep impression on Venetian contemporaries for its beauty and, remarkably enough, was translated into Italian by Belissario Malaspalli da Spalato more than sixty years later, apparently to render it accessible to those who had no Latin.¹

REFERENCES: Adams, P-2086; American STC Italian, 2:648; BM STC Italian, 539; Brunet, 4:869; Grässe, 5:441; Jöcher, suppl. vol. 6; Quétif, vol.2, pt. 2:85–86; Renouard, 253, no. 3; UCLA, 705.



WORKS FOR AND AT ROME



In 1533 Paulus Manutius took up the family tradition of scholarly printing. During the years between his father's death and his coming of age, the operations of the press had been much neglected by his uncles. True, the Torresani had continued to publish books, but their publications did not exhibit the learned perfection which had always distinguished the works of Aldus. Determined to restore the glory of the Aldine Press, Paulus separated at length from his uncles in 1540 and assumed full management of the press. Paulus continued the operation of the press for some years, giving special attention to Latin classics and especially editions of Cicero. In general, Paulus did restore the reputation of the Aldine Press through the high quality of his scholarship and subsequent publications. However, in spite of scholarly and typographic excellence, works published under Paulus generally suffered from slow sales. In view of waning commercial prosperity and the constant wars in northern Italy, the prospect of printing in Rome must have had some appeal to Paulus.

In 1561 Paulus accepted Pope Pius IV's invitation to move his printing operation to Rome and become the technical adviser for the church's publication efforts. At Rome, Paulus printed the writings of the early church fathers and other works deemed appropriate by the Vatican. The funding for the organization and establishment of the printing office was supplied from the papal treasury. According to the negotiations, Paulus received a yearly stipend of five hundred ducats in addition to one-half of the net profits of the press. The contract lasted twelve years. As Eisenstein observed, "Aldus Manutius' son, Paul, profited from serving Counter-Reformation popes as assiduously as Aldus had earlier served humanist patrons" (398).

In the wake of the increasing influence of the publications of the German heretics, the pope recognized the value of the printing press. Protestant publications, along with undermining the authority of the church in Germany, Switzerland and France, were now making

inroads into Italy itself (Putnam [1967], 2: 306). The church countered quickly, using the famous and widely respected name of the Aldine Press under the management of Paulus. The Roman operation began by issuing the works of Cardinal Pole (*De concilio* and *Reformatio Angliae*) (NOS. 48 and 49), treatises emphasizing aspects of the Counter-Reformation movement. Then followed the Decrees of the Council of Trent (*Canones et Decreta*) (NO. 50) and the works of Saint Cyprian (NO. 52). These publications, together with editions of the Tridentine index (NO. 51), the Bible (NO. 53), and other church writings, seem to have kept the Aldine Press at Rome quite busy. Paulus later complained that the press became so occupied with publishing editions of catechisms and breviaries that he was not able to make progress on his own publications, especially his commentaries on Cicero (see NO. 55).

During these years at Rome difficulties between Paulus and the church steadily accumulated at the printing office. Church officials continued to interfere with the management and control of the press, and Paulus longed to return to his own scholarly interests. The inquisition inaugurated by Pius IV was a constant irritant and Pius V seemed little interested in intellectual pursuits (Morison, 160–61). Paulus left Rome in 1570, and negotiations between Paulus and Pope Gregory XIII, elected in 1572 as successor to Pius V, took place concerning the establishment of another printing office which would only publish classical works and expurgated editions of works partially condemned in the *Index*. Already recognized for his scholarly authority, Paulus was to act as editor and supervisor. His strength failed, however, and he died before the plan ever took shape.



DE CONCILIO

LIBER

REGINALDI POLI

CARDINALIS.



ROMAE, M. D. LXII.

Apud Paulum Manutium Aldi F.

No colophon. [1562]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [8], 64 leaves; 22 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: A-S⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Limp vellum, sewn on single raised cords, with single back-beaded natural endbands. Title calligraphed onto spine. Bound with Reginald Pole, *Reformatio Angliae* (NO. 49).

After leaving Venice and moving his operation to Rome in 1561, Paulus immediately set up the press and outlined a publication schedule. The first two books issued from the Aldine Press in Rome were Cardinal Reginald Pole's *De concilio* and *Reformatio Angliae* (February 1562). These two books by the cardinal and

archbishop of Canterbury are of great historical and political interest to students of contemporary England, the Reformation and the corresponding Counter-Reformation.

Reginald Pole was a cousin to Henry VIII. As a young man he received an excellent education, having studied under the scholars Thomas Linacre and William Latimer. Among his friends and acquaintances were some of the greatest minds and most influential persons of the time. Thomas More said of Pole, "He was as learned as he was noble, and as virtuous as he was learned." Frequently at odds with Henry VIII over the king's divorce and departure from the church at Rome, Pole remained abroad much of the time. When Pope Paul III prepared a bull of excommunication and deposition against Henry, he summoned Pole to Rome and made him a cardinal. As a cardinal, Pole served the church in many high-level appointments, most notably as papal legate to England and as one of three official legates to open the Council of Trent. When Mary ascended the throne, Pole returned to England, where he was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. He spent the remainder of his days working for reform of the church in England and a united Christendom. His plans were to reconnect the Counter-Reformation with the Tudor monarchy and to link it with the European Catholic revival.

De concilio was written on the occasion of the convening of the Council of Trent. The council had been delayed for eight years, mainly for political reasons. When it finally did meet in 1545, it was seen by many as more of a political than a religious event. In *De concilio*, Pole makes some strong statements on secular interference in the actions of the council. Were civil leaders and political figures, he asks, the right persons to be influencing religious affairs? What was needed was not rich and powerful men puffed up with pride and worldly pleasures, but humble and repentant servants determined to confess the wrongs and abuses of the church and to make amends (leaf 69). The church leaders, expecting a conventional opening speech full of inoffensive piety, were shocked with Pole's opening remarks at the council, in which he lambasted the church for its avarice, abuse of office, and "spiritual wickedness in high places" (Schenk, 111–13). In his *De concilio* and at the subsequent council, Pole thus quickly distinguished

himself as one advocating reform (cf. Fenlon, 116 ff.). This edition of *De concilio* also contains Pole's "De baptismo Constantini Magni imperatoris" (leaves 59–64).

De concilio and *Reformatio Angliae* (NO. 49) are typographically similar and were designed to be sold either separately or together. Paulus originally printed 1,700 copies of *De concilio* in 1562, but quickly sold out (Bühler [1952]). Due to high demand he reprinted a second edition that same year of both *De concilio* and *Reformatio Angliae*. In that year these works, along with a preface by Manutius, were also reprinted in Venice by Giordano Ziletti.

Like his father, Aldus, Paulus made hand corrections to his printed texts, both while printing was in progress and after the sheets had gone through the press. In the BYU copy of *De concilio*, fourteen post-impression corrections, hand alterations and stop-press emendations are present, as described by Curt Bühler. As Bühler concludes, these emendations in *De concilio* are strong evidence that Paulus exercised the same care and followed the same tradition of exact scholarship for his first ventures in Rome as his father had done before him in Venice (cf. Bühler [1952], 209–14).

REFERENCES: Adams, P-1744; American STC Italian, 2:619; Bietenholz, 3:103–5; BM STC Italian, 529; Brunet, 4:393; Grässe, 5:393; Renouard, 185, no. 3 ("C'est le premier volume imprimé à Rome par Paul Manuce. Il est presque toujours réuni au suivant, et tous deux sont rares."); UCLA, 503.

* * *

49 Reginald Pole. *Reformatio Angliae*

No colophon. [1562]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 27, [1] leaves; 22 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: A–G⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Bound with Reginald Pole, *De concilio* (NO. 48).

REFORMATIO ANGLIAE

EX DECRETIS REGINALDI
POLI CARDINALIS,
SEDIS APOSTOLICAE LEGATI,
ANNO M. D. LVI.



ROMAE, M. D. LXII.

Apud Paulum Manutium Aldi F.

Pole, who had labored so much while in exile for the Catholic reform movement, continued his efforts when he returned to his native country. With Mary on the throne, the Roman church was again the official church in England. Pole, now archbishop, did not simply want to return the church in England to its state before Henry's divorce; instead, in the spirit of the reform movement which he had helped nurture at Rome, he worked towards a genuine renewal (Schenk, 142 ff.). "I am not come to destroy, but to build; to reconcile, not to condemn," he pledged (Antony, 174–75). The *Reformatio Angliae* outlines Pole's plans and stems from a national synod he convoked after his return to England. It contains twelve decrees which summarize the ills of the church and the remedies to be applied (ibid., 197–99). It announces, for example, that all pastors must reside among their flocks or be sternly punished for absence. There must be a severe penalty for simony. Heretical books must not be printed, sold, or read. Priests must counteract false doctrines by preaching true doctrines and the principles of faith to their congregations, as well as by setting a good example. Priests, and

bishops in particular, must avoid all outward pomp (such as costly clothing or ornate furniture) and live modestly. They must remain unmarried and chaste. Candidates for the priesthood must be selected with greater care: colleges were to be founded, from which, as from a seed-bed (“seminarium”) future priests could be chosen (Schenk, 143–44).

REFERENCES: Adams, P-1752; BM STC Italian, 530; Brunet, 4:788; Renouard, 185, no 4; UCLA, 504.

* * *

50 Council of Trent. *Canones et decreta*

CANONES, ET DECRETA
SACROSANCTI OECUMENICI,
ET GENERALIS CONCILII
TRIDENTINI
SVB PAVLO III, IVLIO III, PIO III,
PONTIFICIBVS MAX.



ROMAE,
Apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F.
M. D. LXIII.
Cum priuilegio Pii III. Pont. Max.

COLOPHON: Romae, apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F.
M.D. LXIII. [1564] [repeated on title page]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: ccxxxix, [13] p.; 31 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: A–V⁶, X⁶

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum spine with brown pastepaper sides, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded brown/tan worked and laced-in endbands. Plain endpapers and marbled pastedowns. Blue edges. Vellum corners. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto red leather label on spine.

The Council of Trent is one of the most important events in the history of the Roman Catholic church. It is significant “not only because of its restatement of Catholic doctrine and its initiation of a genuine reform, but also because of its extraordinary influence both within and without the church” (Schroeder, iii). It was convened at Trent, now in northern Italy, from 1545 to 1563—with several breaks in between—with the twofold task of defining the doctrines of the church in reply to the heresies of the Protestants and bringing about a thorough reform of the inner life of Christians (ibid., iii–iv).

There was a keen interest throughout the Catholic world in the proceedings and conclusions of the council. As early as 1548, the need to publish and disperse the proceedings and decrees of the council was clear. The actual plan to publish the decrees did not come together until, after several lengthy delays in the council, Pope Pius IV took it up in 1564. Pius created a special commission of cardinals for the preparation of the decrees for the press.

The official publication of the decrees fell to Paulus Manutius at Rome. Paulus states in the preface of the *Canones et decreta* the scope of his commission to “distinctly and clearly explain” all deliberations and controversies which may have arisen at the council. Paulus promised to write and publish a complete history of the Council of Trent.¹ Unfortunately, he was never able to compile this ambitious project which, like many other of his plans, was undoubtedly swallowed up by the demands and pressures of managing the press in Rome, an enterprise which detracted increasingly from his own scholarly pursuits.

The *Canones et decreta* make no attempt at embracing the whole doctrinal system of the Roman Catholic church; instead, they present a selection of the most vital doctrines chosen to counter Protestantism. According to Schroeder, “the council’s dogmatic decrees

are gems, masterpieces of theology reduced to the briefest possible form, yet sufficiently complete to leave nothing wanting. [In them] the reader will find the means employed by the church to correct and remove the prevailing moral evils and abuses." (ibid.).

The BYU copy is the extremely rare first state of the first folio edition as described by Renouard. The index to the second edition is tipped in. Renouard notes that the *Canones et decreta* enjoyed unusual popularity and sold out quickly, giving rise to multiple printings and editions. BYU has three other Aldine editions of *Canones et decreta*, those of 1564, 1565 and 1569. BYU's second 1564 copy is a variant of the second Aldine edition. It is considerably smaller in size and was published at the Tipographia del Popolo Romano. This establishment was one of the official Vatican presses directed by Paulus Manutius, who oversaw its operations from 1561 to 1570 and used it to print the canons, decrees, and catechisms of the Council of Trent, as well as other patristic and theological works. It was funded by a tax on the wine trade and was evidently controlled by the Senate (Morison, 165). With Paulus's departure from Rome in 1570, the press was disbanded (ibid.).

REFERENCES: Renouard, 190, no. 4 ("extrêmement rare, et mérite place parmi les livres les plus précieux."); UCLA, 529.

* * *

5 I *Index librorum prohibitorum* [Tridentine index]

No colophon. [1564]

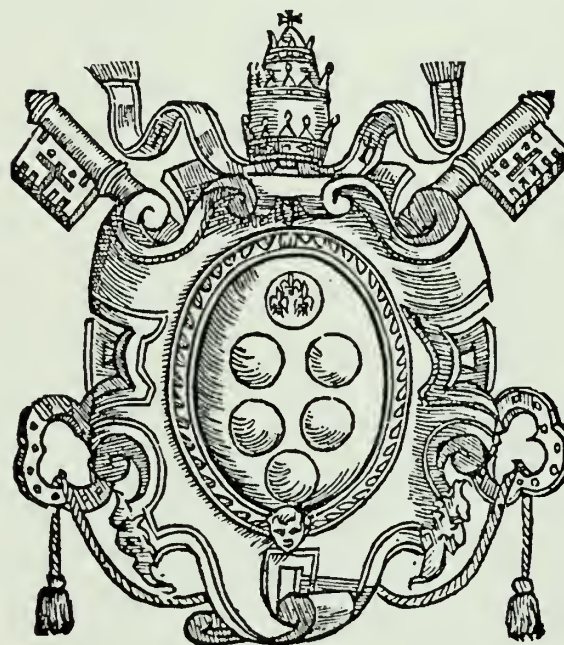
PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 32 leaves; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: A–D⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Limp vellum, sewn on single raised leather thongs, with single back-beaded, natural laced-in endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Vellum spine linings visible on front flyleaf. Remnants of fore-edge ties. Title calligraphed onto spine. Remnants of a paper label. Bound with *Canones et decreta*. Paulus Manutius, 1565.

INDEX LIBRORVM PROHIBITORVM,

CVM REGVLIS CONFECTIS
per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos,
auctoritate Sanctiss. D.N. Pij IIII,
Pont. Max. comprobatus.



VENETIIS, M. D. LXIII.

The first official censorship assumed directly through papal authority came in 1559 with the publication of the *Index auctorum et librorum prohibitorum* under the direction of Pope Paul IV (Putnam [1967], 1:3). The Pauline index, as it is also known, was the first in a long succession of papal indexes, forty-two in all. In January of 1562 the Council of Trent took up the issue of the *Index* and was deeply divided. The Pauline index had been seen by many as too controversial and excessively restrictive. After the opening speeches, the council appointed a commission to draft a new index. Although the council closed before the task of the commission was completed, the new Tridentine index was taken up by Pope Pius IV and published in 1564 by Paulus Manutius in Rome. This index "constituted the most authoritative guide the church had yet published. . . its lists formed the basis of all subsequent indexes, while its rules were accepted as the guide for future censors and compilers" (ibid., 1:5).

The Tridentine index, with a few significant exceptions, reproduced the author and title entries of the Pauline index. Most of the changes incorporated tended toward moderation. For example, under the Pauline index, Erasmus had been classified as a “class I” offender, someone suspected of heresy (*nota haeresis suspecti*) whose entire corpus was banned (*auctores quorum libri et scripta omnia prohibentur*). Under the Tridentine index, Erasmus was reduced to a “class II” offender and had only six titles banned: the *Colloquia*, *Moriae encomium*, *Lingua*, *Institutio christiani matrimonii*, *Epistola . . . de interdicto esu carnum*, and the Tomitano translation of the *Paraphrasis in evangelium Matthaei* (Grendler [1977], 146). Nevertheless, the Tridentine index did insist on the expurgation of all his other religious and some of his secular works. The index specifically mentions the expurgated edition of *Adagia* printed by Paulus Manutius as acceptable. Similarly, the Tridentine index took much more moderate views toward the expurgated writings of Savonarola, Jacques Lefèvre d’Etaples, Giovanni Battista Gelli, and others. The Tridentine index also dropped the prohibition of nearly sixty printings of the Bible and Paul IV’s universal condemnation of any scripture in the vernacular.

One of the outcomes of the Tridentine commission was the formulation of basic rules for censorship. These rules, found in the preface to the 1564 index, mitigated the severity of the Pauline index. Under Rule II, a bishop or inquisitor could allow certain nonreligious works of some heretics. Books free of error but containing concordances, indices, or other material authored by heretics could be permitted after expurgation (Rule V). Likewise, books that contained some error but “whose chief matter” was good could be permitted in expurgated form (Rule VIII). Rules III, IV, and VI concerned qualified permissions and prohibitions regarding editions of the Bible. For example, editions of the Old Testament edited by heretics and still free of heresy were acceptable, but any edition of the New Testament prepared by a “class I” heretic was strictly prohibited. Works either obscene or dealing with magic and the occult were to remain on the index, as well as any book condemned by the pope or council before 1515 (Rule I).

In contrast to the first nine rules, which bishops and inquisitors often found vague and difficult to interpret, Rule X outlined “detailed instructions for prepublication censorship and control of book distribution.” All new publications had to be approved and authorized by bishops and inquisitors. The rule called for bookstores to be inspected and for booksellers (as well as anyone who inherited books) to submit inventory lists (Schroeder, 273–78; see also Grendler [1977], 147–48).

The BYU copy has the papal arms on the title page instead of the Aldine device. Other copies were printed the same year in Bologna, Cologne, Rome, and Venice.

REFERENCES: Adams, I-94; Brunet, 3:435; Grendler [1977], 115–127; Putnam [1967], 1:332–334; Renouard, 196, no. 24.

* * *

52 Cyprian. *Opera*

No colophon. [1563]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [28], 424, [52] p.; 34 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: a⁴ b⁶ c⁴ A–2M⁶ 2N–2T⁴ (2T⁴ blank).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Red goatskin, sewn on recessed cords, with single front-beaded brown/green endbands. Blue silk page marker. Colored endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. False bands on spine. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers, spine, board edges, and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto spine. Bound with Eucherius, *Commentarii in Genesim*. Paulus Manutius, 1564.

Saint Cyprian (ca. A.D. 200–258) was one of the most illustrious figures in early church history. In a time of intense persecution and division within the church, Cyprian was beheaded and became the first African bishop to die a martyr. All of Cyprian’s works were written in connection with his episcopal office. His treatises and many of his letters were intended primarily as public addresses. Cyprian’s writings are not only important sources for the history of early church life and of ecclesiastical law, but they are noted for their literary

merit as well. Famous among his writings is the *Lapsi*, a tract written with lenient disposition concerning the rebaptism of heretics and the readmission into the church of those who had fallen away from the faith. By far the best known of Cyprian's writings is the treatise *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate*, written on the danger of schisms which faced the early church. In this tract Cyprian proclaims the famous doctrine of one church founded upon the apostle Peter.

D I V I
CAECILII CYPRIANI
EPISCOPI CARTHAGINIENSIS,
ET GLORIOSISSIMI MARTYRIS,
O P E R A,

Ad ueritatem uetustissimorum exemplarium summa fide
emendata, addito etiam quinto epistolarum
libro, antea nunquam edito.

Alia eidem Cypriano adscripta.

Cum INDICE rerum ac uerborum memorabilium
maxima diligentia collecto.



ROMAE, M. D. LXIII.

Apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F.

Cum priuilegio Pii III. Pont. Max.

It was no accident that Paulus Manutius, shortly after arriving in Rome as the church's official printer, set about to publish the works of Cyprian. At the time, the Reformation was in full swing, heresies abounded, the church was racked with division, and the Council of Trent was hotly embroiled in the debate over the primacy of the pope in Rome. The parallels between the challenges the church faced in Cyprian's day and

those in Paulus's day were unmistakable. An able staff of correctors had been assigned to Paulus for the undertaking of the papal press. The editing of the Cyprian text was committed to Latino Latini, one of the most capable editors of his day. Nevertheless, intrigue and great controversy soon surrounded the 1563 Aldine Cyprian text. In one of his private letters, Latini complains that after all his laborious and careful editing portions of the text had somehow been altered: "some passages were retained contrary to the evidence of the manuscripts, and even some additions made" (as quoted in Benson, 210).

In 1563 at the Council of Trent bishops, armed with an arsenal of quotations from Cyprian, were arguing back and forth whether they gained their powers by divine right or by papal authority. Was their place to be under the pope but not dependent, or were they fully dependent upon the pope for authority and power? At the very moment when the controversies raged, the Aldine Cyprian fortuitously appeared. However, the Aldine text was a loaded deck in favor of the papists. One of the debated passages (p. 139) refers to the calling of Peter by the Lord to be the rock of the church. The interpolated text interjects that "he established one chair . . . and primacy is given to Peter, that one church of Christ and one chair may be pointed out; and all are pastors and one flock is shown, to be fed by all the apostles with one-hearted accord"² (trans. Benson, 202). Regarding this passage, Benson concludes, "The indictment we prefer is that every word of [the interpolated text] is a forgery; and a forgery deliberately for three centuries past forged by papal authority in the teeth of evidence upon editors and printers who were at its mercy" (Benson, 203). Under these circumstances, Latini would not allow his name to be connected with the edition, "deeming it no light crime to conceal the truth or to alter the smallest letter" (ibid., 210). Powerless to prevent Vatican officials from tampering with his text for polemical advantage, one of the most competent editors of the period felt compelled to resign from his work.

A curious comment appears in a note after the index at the end of the text where Paulus touches upon the controversial passages and offers his justifications for the interpolations in the text: "It is not improper if

pious and catholic interpretations and true senses be applied to the writings of the ancient fathers in order to preserve always the unity of the church which Cyprian in his writings had most at heart. Otherwise no end to the heresies and schisms”³ (trans. Benson, 212). Since few realized how and where the original text had been altered, this must have sounded mysterious to the unsuspecting reader.

PROVENANCE: Bookplate from the library at Syston Park, formed by Sir John Thorold and his son John Hayford Thorold.

REFERENCES: Adams, C-3161; Benson, 200–211; BM STC Italian, 207; Brunet, 2:459 (“Edition belle et rare”); Grässe, 2:316; Renouard, 188, no. 3 (“Cette édition est faite sur d’excellents manuscrits”); UCLA, 518.

* * *

53 Vulgate Bible

BIBLIA SACRA VULGATAE EDITIONIS

ROMAE

Ex Typographia APOSTOLICA VATICANA

M · D · X C I I ·

No colophon. [1592]

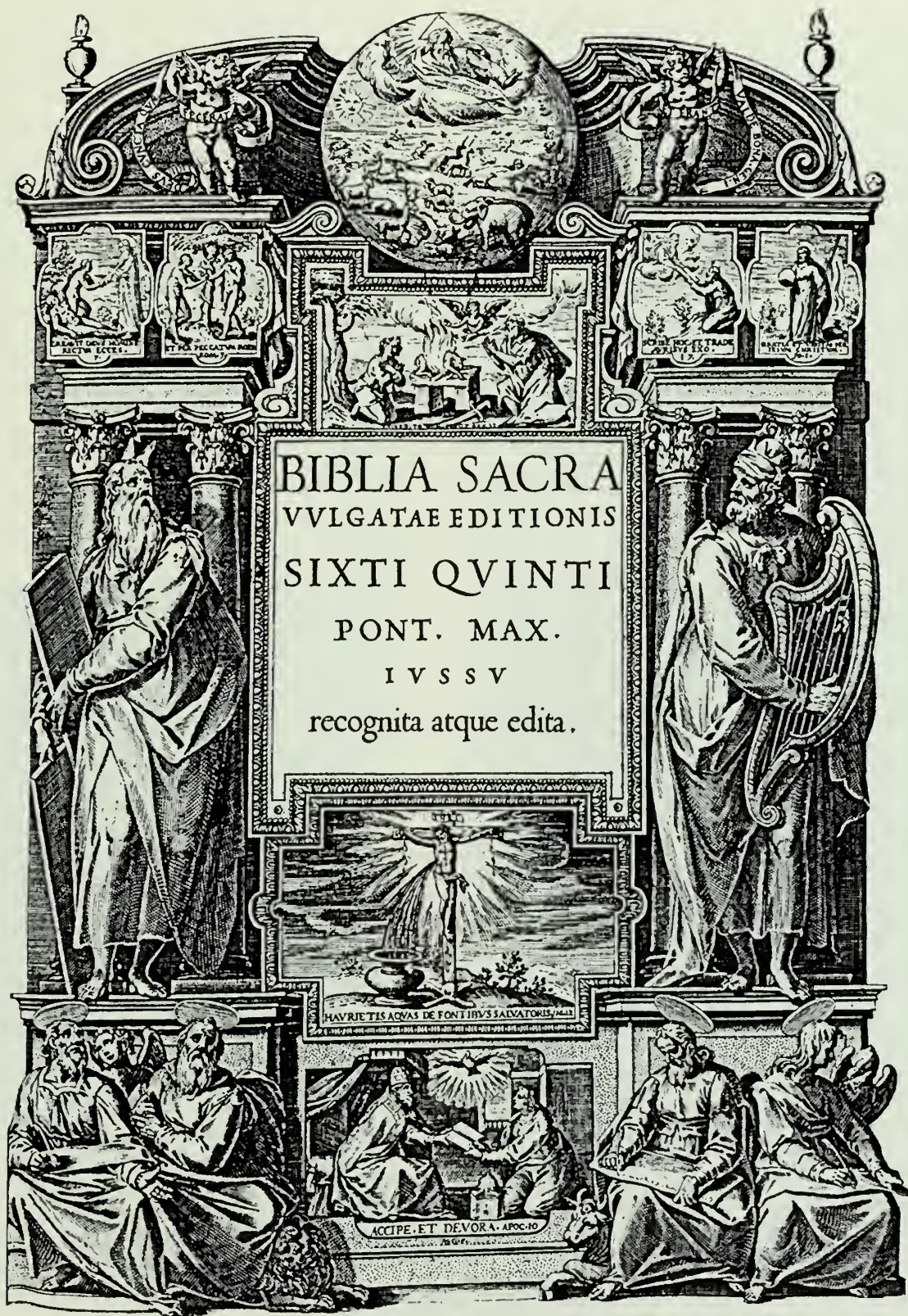
PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [12], 1131, 23 p.; 36 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: *⁶ A–5A⁶ 5B⁸ a–b⁶.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded blue/white laced-in endbands. Brown silk ties. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gilded edges. Metal clasps and bosses. Metal plate in center of front and back covers. Initials stamped onto decorative metal plates on front and back covers. Simple blind tooling on spine.

The Sixtine-Clementine edition of the Latin Bible, also known as the Clementine Bible, has been for centuries the standard edition of the Bible for the Roman Catholic church. It was first published in 1592 at Rome by Aldus Manutius the Younger. After the Council of Trent had declared the Vulgate Bible the official Bible of the church, efforts were made to publish an authoritative edition. Pope Sixtus V had labored long and carefully to produce his Sixtine Bible in 1590. As Darlow and Moule point out, this version “aroused antagonism among both clergy and laity who were used to unrevised texts and specially resented the order that their missals, breviaries,” and other materials be corrected to agree with the Sixtine edition (6184). Moreover, Sixtus had placed some of Cardinal Bellarmine’s works on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, offending the Jesuits. Therefore, it came as little surprise that just a few days after the death of Sixtus (August 27, 1590) the cardinals quickly issued a decree forbidding the further sale of this Bible. After the succession of three short-lived popes, Clement VIII ascended the throne and ordered the withdrawal of all copies of the Sixtine edition (ibid.). Within months the next official Vulgate version, the Clementine edition, was published at Rome by Aldus the Younger, who headed the papal press.

The Clementine Bible represented an attempt to incorporate the scholarly work of several papal commissions into the text of the earlier editions. It departed from the Sixtine text in many places but, ironically, was full of errors itself.⁴ Having been rushed through to take



Second title page. Leaf *2r.

the place of the recalled Sixtine edition, it rolled off the Aldine Press in just four months. Cardinal Bellarmino (who had been a professor at Louvain) claims in the preface that Sixtus had noticed many errors in his Bible shortly after it was published and had consequently planned to correct them in a subsequent edition but was prevented from doing so by his untimely death. Accordingly, Clement VIII had taken up this task. It is estimated that the Clementine text differs from the Sixtine edition in more than five thousand places; and it follows closely the Louvain Bible issued by Plantin in 1583. This was problematic since the preface to the Sixtine edition declared that only it was "true, legitimate, authentic and unquestionable. . . . It only was to be taken as copy-text, and the provincial inquisitors and bishops were to see that it was faithfully followed and to give their license or *imprimatur* on that condition only" (Greenslade, 450). Furthermore, Sixtus, in a papal bull prefacing his edition, had declared severe penalties against any who dared to change his text in any way and had forbidden any other text to be used under any circumstances whatsoever. To avoid these heavy penalties, the editors placed the name of Sixtus on the title page instead of Clement, and thus were able to present a totally new edition to the world under the name of Sixtus (*Biblia Sacra vulgata editionis Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. inssu recognita atque edita*). Sixtus appeared alone on the title page up until 1604. Since then, the name of Clement has been added; occasionally it is listed by itself.

Like its predecessor, the Clementine Bible was issued with a new papal bull "which forbade the printing of any edition outside the Vatican for ten years, after which time no edition might be published unless it had been first collated with a Vatican copy" (Darlow and Moule, 6184). Penalties similar to those recited in Sixtus's bull were prescribed for any who should disobey. The Protestant controversialists made great play of the history of these rival editions and specifically ridiculed the doctrine of papal infallibility on the basis of these competing and contradictory bulls and the vastly differing texts (*ibid.*). The stern prohibitions of Clement's bull secured the Clementine version as the official Bible for the Roman Catholic church for centuries. Not until 1907 was the official Vulgate text revised.

The title page to the 1592 edition is printed in red and black. There is an added engraved title page with vignettes depicting such biblical events as the Creation, the temptation by the serpent, and the receiving of the Ten Commandments. In addition to the absence of marginal references, notes and variant readings, the Clementine Bible differs notably from the Sixtine edition with the addition of the Prayer of Manasses and 3 and 4 Esdras in an appendix at the end. It was originally issued in 500 copies.

REFERENCES: BM STC Italian, 93; Brunet, 1:878 ("devenue le texte authentique de la Vulgate"); Darlow and Moule, 6184; Grässe, 1:395; Greenslade, 68–9, 208–9; Morison, 163–65; Renouard, 248, no. 1 ("très rare"); Steinberg, 234; UCLA, 696.



THE MANUTII AS AUTHORS



n any of the countless histories of printing written in the last century one will find abundant reference to the house of Aldus as one of the greatest and most prolific firms in the history of early printing. The three generations of Manutius printers contributed to the wide reputation of the press, recognizable among other things for its quality of scholarship and its excellence in typography. While this family of scholar-printers is largely responsible for the survival of many ancient texts and “greatly facilitated the

diffusion of the values, enthusiasm, and scholarship of Italian Renaissance humanism to the rest of Europe” (Grendler [1984], 24), they must also be acknowledged for their own writings which made original and singular contributions to the history of scholarship.

The fame of Aldus Manutius comes not only from his work as a printer, but also from the profound effect of his scholarship upon the learning of the world. His vast erudition was widely respected in his own day, especially his abilities with the Greek language, which won the enthusiastic acknowledgment of renowned



Aug. S. Aubin fecit

Paulus Manutius

in Aldus Manutius the Younger, 1578 In *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes Pauli Manutii commentarius*. Leaf *1v.



Aug. S. Aubin fecit

Aldus Manutius the Elder

in Aldus Manutius the Younger, 1578 In *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes Pauli Manutii commentarius*. Leaf *1r.

scholars from all over Europe including Desiderius Erasmus, Giovanni Battista Egnazio, Giovanni Gregoropoulos, and Thomas Linacre, all of whom had also worked with him.

Although Aldus wrote only a few treatises himself, those which he did write were close to his heart. Aldus always saw himself as a teacher charged to instruct others in good letters and morals. He felt he had a divine mission to help his fellowman. His underlying principle and inspiration in becoming a printer and publisher was to "turn the world into his classroom" (Grendler [1984], 14), and thus his early publications were text books. As a natural extension of his desire to teach others, Aldus produced his own instructional grammar (NO. 54), first published in 1493 by Andrea Torresani. It was written to provide simple and correct instruction for young students learning Latin. This was the sort of book for which, we may surmise, he searched in vain in his own student days; though the Middle Ages had produced many grammars, none of them rose to the standard of Ciceronian correctness aspired to by the Renaissance humanists.

Paulus Manutius was only two years old when his father died, and he was left to the care of Andrea Torresani, his maternal grandfather and the business associate of his father. Paulus applied himself diligently and at the age of twenty-one had already established for himself a solid reputation for scholarship and learning. Those of his works described here (NOS. 55–57) reflect his prominence as a Ciceronian scholar, his acclaimed letter writing abilities, and his interest in Roman antiquities. Throughout his life Paulus combined the occupations of diligent student with that of esteemed printer, which is reflected in the exceptional quality of his publications.

Paulus left his business to his son, Aldus Manutius the Younger. At a very early age Aldus the Younger enjoyed fame as the precocious author of the *Eleganze della lingua toscana e latina* (NO. 58), a collection of phrases which was a precursor to the modern thesaurus. Just a few years later he made lasting contributions to the standardization of Latin spelling with his *Orthographiae ratio* (NO. 59). From the moderate success of these early works Aldus the Younger continued to enjoy honor and reputation throughout his life.

Between several stints as professor and distinguished lecturer, Aldus the Younger managed the operations of the press. During the time the press was at Bologna, he compiled a biography of the late Cosimo de' Medici (NO. 60) with the probable intent of influencing local officials to issue him a printing permit.



ALDVS MANVTIVS PAVLLI FILIVS ALDI NEPOS.

Aldus the Younger
in Renouard, 260.

After little more than a century of labor in the cause of scholarship and *belles lettres*, the creative enterprise of this great house of printers came to an end when the younger Aldus died in Rome. The vast library which had descended to Aldus the Younger from his father and his grandfather was dispersed and the business closed.

* * *

54 Aldus Manutius. *Institutiones grammaticae*

COLOPHON (leaves 172 and 204): Venetiis in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae Soceri, mense Iulio. M. D. XXIII. [1523]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [8], 204 leaves; 22 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: a–y⁸ z⁴ 2a–2d⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown sheepskin, sewn on recessed cords, with cloth brown/white endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. False bands on spine. Gold- and blind-

tooled with ornaments on front and back covers. Title gold-tooled onto front cover.

The *Institutiones grammaticae* were written during the 1480s when Aldus the Elder was teaching at Carpi. The work was revised and prepared for its first publication in 1493 by Andrea Torresani. After establishing his own printing press, Aldus published the grammar three times (in 1501, 1508 and 1514) before he died.¹ In spite of these four early publications, and even though the grammar was reissued fifteen times before 1568, there is not much evidence to indicate that it enjoyed much success. The predominant grammar of the day was still Alexander de Villedieu's *Doctrinale* (originally written ca. 1199), which, as evidenced by no fewer than 279 editions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, enjoyed immense popularity. Lowry has suggested that even the limited success of Aldus's grammar was more a result of the author's prestige than any intrinsic merit of the work (Lowry, 63).

**ALDI PII MANVTII INSTITVTIO
NVM GRAMMATICARVM
LIBRI QVATVOR**

**Erasmii Rotterodami opusculum de octo ora-
tionis partium constructione.**



**Quæ quoq; libro continentur hanc uolenti
chartam statim se offerunt.**

The fifteenth-century humanist-grammarians had taken the ancients as their model. However, since the ancient grammars usually contained excessive detail, the humanists sought to eliminate many cumbersome particulars in favor of simplified versions. These were not, however, an improvement. Out of dissatisfaction with currently available grammars, Aldus was led to write his own. In the epilogue to the 1493 edition, Aldus explains, "I had to teach young children and I was not able to do it as effectively as I wished. No one in my judgement had yet written a grammar suitable for instructing children. One was quite short and concise, another exceedingly diffuse and ostentatious, a third utterly inept and indigestible; . . . none of them satisfied me. I have sought what I most felt the need of, a grammar to teach children quickly and effectively" (trans. Bateman, 228).

In preparing his own grammar, Aldus reduced the amount of explanatory material, eliminated the in-depth treatment of complex subjects, and introduced several passages of mnemonic verse (*ibid.*, 228). The memorization of these verses would be much different from the experience Aldus himself had had as a young man learning Latin. One of his teachers had been an ineffective taskmaster who forced his students to memorize Alexander de Villedieu's *Doctrinale* of twenty-six thousand lines in rhymed hexameter (Rostenberg and Stern [1977], 26). Aldus must have had this unpleasant experience in mind when, in the preface to *Institutiones grammaticae*, he admonishes teachers, "Do not force children to memorize anything except the best authors, . . . not your own composition in prose and verse or those in the grammar book. They will unlearn in a few days what took great effort to learn. . . . Children will become desperate, run away from school, and hate such studies" (trans. Grendler [1984], 14). Apparently, such a drudgery-filled task was too much for even the future grammarian himself: Aldus explains that having to memorize the work of Alexander as a child had caused even him to suffer greatly ("plurimum doleo").

At the end of the *Institutiones grammaticae* is a miscellaneous section of grammatical items. Included in this section is a short fragment on the Greek alphabet and rudimentary interlinear Greek and Latin texts. The use of such texts to help students learn Greek was common

pedagogical practice. The table of contents to this miscellaneous section also mentions an introduction to the Hebrew language (*Introductio perbrevis ad hebraicam linguam*). The 1523 edition does not contain this introduction, although the earlier 1501 and 1514 editions did. The use of Hebrew type by Aldus in his primers may have been the first in Venice. Aside from them, his only other use of Hebrew type was a line of Hebrew in the 1498 edition of Poliziano's *Opera* (NO. 34) and the specimen for a proposed polyglot Bible in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the production of which never came about.

DE OCTO ORATIONIS PARTIVM
CONSTRYCTIONE LIBELLVS, TVM
ELEGANS IN PRIMIS, TVM
DILVCIDA BREVITATE
COPIOSISSIMVS,
ERASMO ROTTERODAMO AVTHORE

Institutiones grammaticae. Leaf cc1r.

An interesting curiosity in the BYU copy is that the name of Erasmus on the title page as well as at the head of leaf 180 (i.e., 190) is crossed out in contemporary ink. The contribution Erasmus made at the end the book is a short preface and epitome of William Lily's Latin grammar, originally published in London in 1513. In the 1520s many printers within the territories controlled by Church censorship omitted the name of Erasmus from title pages. He had fallen out of favor on several accounts with the Church and had consequently been placed on the index (see NO. 51). As a "class I" author his works had been forbidden; and even his change to a "class II" author left his work suspect. Some printers dodged the controversy by publishing works of Erasmus under an alias, *Batavus quidam homo* (a certain Dutchman). Undoubtedly, the striking out of Erasmus's name in the BYU copy was the vigilant act of someone fearful of being exposed for possessing a work associated with an "indexed" author.

The title page and introduction are printed in red and black ink. Spaces with guide letters have been left for capitals in the second two books. The preface to the 1523 edition, dated 1507, is the same preface used in the 1508 and 1514 editions. The BYU copy has contemporary sketchings on the verso of leaf 43 and the recto of leaf 189.

REFERENCES: Brunet, 3:1382; Eisenstein, 340, 447; Grässe, 4:374; Marx, 64–67; Putnam [1967], 1:334; Renouard, 98, no. 7; Robertson, 59, 67; UCLA, 195.

* * *

55 Paulus Manutius. *In M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationes Paulli Manutii Commentarius*

No colophon [1578–79]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 3 v.; 34 cm. (fol.).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin over pulpboard, sewn on single raised cords with cloth red/gold endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Gold-tooled with ornaments on front and back covers and turn-ins. Title gold-tooled onto two leather labels, one purple, one brown on spine.

By the time Paulus assumed control of the press most available Greek texts had been published at least once; and since Paulus's Greek was not of the caliber of his father's, he devoted himself primarily to the Latin classics. While both a scholar and a printer, Paulus is best remembered for his contributions to scholarship, the chief of which are his corrected editions of and commentaries on Cicero's letters and orations, and his own letters written in a Ciceronian style.

Paulus Manutius was a passionate Ciceronian, and when he took charge of the press in 1533 it was no accident that the first work he printed was a work associated with Cicero (*Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium lib. IIII*; see BYU copy). In fact, a cursory view of the works issued from the Aldine Press during the tenure of Paulus will reveal an inordinate number of works by or commentaries on Cicero. In this age of humanism, Cicero was

extremely popular. The Italian humanists, as teachers of grammar and rhetoric, were consumed with the language and literature of antiquity. Latin rhetoric and oratory became the dominant model for both oral communication and written composition. The standards of rhetoric and oratory were founded on two authorities, Cicero and Quintilian. Cicero was for many the source of eloquence and the inspiration and guide for those who sought to return to the classical world.² It was felt that he helped men to think as well as to speak; his works were accessible to readers who knew no Greek, and it was he who could best summarize classical philosophy in nontechnical terms.

I N
M · T V L L I I
C I C E R O N I S
O R A T I O N E S

Paulli Manutij Commentarius.

A D . G R E G O R I V M . X I I I
P O N T . O P T . M A X .

Liberalium disciplinarum Maecenatem.

C V M . P R I V I L E G I I S



V E N E T I I S . ∞ D L X X I I X
A p u d A l d u m .

Title page to vol. 1.

Because of failing health, Paulus was compelled to leave Rome in 1570. He worked steadily through the winter months on his commentaries on the orations of Cicero. Paulus had great aspirations for this work, which would become the most important of his commentaries. "I feel very hopeful," he writes in his letters, "concerning the sale of my Cicero, and hopeful also that it will not be reprinted [in pirated editions] during my lifetime" (trans. Putnam [1967], 444). Paulus had arranged for this work to be published in Antwerp by the famed Belgian printer Christopher Plantin. In negotiating with Plantin, Paulus had specified the form and style of the Antwerp edition and had come to terms regarding his share of the profits from the sales. Although Plantin either printed or reprinted several works of the Aldine Press, apparently the *Commentaries* project was never accomplished.³ However, Paulus had also intended that his son, Aldus the Younger, print the work. In 1572, Paulus journeyed to Venice to visit his son Aldus and his new bride. During this trip, he gave specific instructions for the printing of the *Commentaries* but had to leave Venice before printing had begun. When he later received the first sheets of the work, he wrote back to Aldus the Younger expressing his bitter disappointment in the preliminary results of the heir to the press. "If you had had in your hands some utterly contemptible scribble, you could hardly have printed it in a more tasteless and slovenly style . . . and you knew I had this undertaking so much at heart! . . . I have instructed Basa to burn all the sheets that have been printed, and to print these signatures again, with a proper selection of type and on decent paper" (ibid.).

Paulus was never able to see the final publication of the *Commentaries*. He died in the spring of 1574, long before the publication of the work that meant so much to him. Aldus the Younger did not print the first volume until 1578, with the remaining two volumes coming off the press in 1579. One can only guess whether these volumes would have met the quality standards and typographic approval of Paulus, who had labored so long to restore the good name of the Aldine Press. Still, this scholarly edition, with its comprehensive and analytical commentaries, together with Paulus's other editions of Cicero, long remained the accepted authority on Cicero.

All three volumes of the BYU copy are bound together and constitute part of a larger set of works by or about Cicero. The entire set contains ten volumes, each with separate title page and publication date. According to Renouard, in 1583 Aldus the Younger reissued these same works, each with a new title page, with the intent that they be kept together as a set. BYU also has this reprinted set (see 1583 copy), which has the illustrious provenance and bookplate of James Loeb, founder of the Loeb Classical Library. A woodcut portrait of Aldus the Elder appears on each title page and a woodcut portrait of Paulus appears on the verso of the title page of volume one of the *Commentaries*. This portrait of Paulus does not appear in the 1583 edition.

REFERENCES: American STC Italian, 2:330; Brunet, 3:1383; Grässe, 4:375; Kennedy, 195–219; Renouard, 225, no. 3, 226, no. 4; Sonnino, 2–14.

* * *

56 Paulus Manutius. *Epistolae*

COLOPHON: Venetiis, M.D. LX. [1560]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [8], 168, [4], 169–229, [3] leaves; 15 cm. (8vo). Errors in foliation: Leaf 134 misnumbered 14.

SIGNATURES: A–Y⁸ 2y⁴ Z⁸ 2A–2G⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded green worked and laced-in endbands. Green silk page marker. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Yellow edges. Title gold-tooled onto red leather label on spine.

Originally published in 1558 by the Venetian Academy, the *Epistolae* is a collection of letters and dedicatory prefaces written by Paulus Manutius to many of the notable figures of his time. Paulus combined the eloquence and style of Ciceronian Latin with contemporary issues and people to provide a model of letter writing which was highly instrumental in the emerging renaissance of letters. Among the most popular kinds of

textbooks in the sixteenth century were instruction manuals in the art of letter writing, and some of the most notable humanists of the century (including Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives) wrote them. The frequent reprinting of the *Epistolae* stands as a testimony to the enduring popularity and success of the work. Aside from the first edition of 1558 and this subsequent 1560 edition, the work was reprinted by the Aldine Press alone in 1561, 1569, 1571, 1573, 1580, 1590, and 1595. The literary productions of Paulus are a remarkable combination of pure and elegant diction leavened with vast erudition which, as Renouard points out, eminently distinguished Paulus from the multitude of other scholars, editors, and commentators.

EPISTOLARVM PAVLI MANVTII. LIBRI IIII.

Eiusdem quæ præfationes
appellantur.



VENETIIS, M. D. LX.

Renaissance humanists were preoccupied with the pursuit of eloquence. Their writing, based on classical models, was not merely rhetorical or merely literary. They did not intend empty pomposity, extravagant arti-

ficiality, or subordination of substance to form and ornament. True eloquence “could arise only out of a harmonious union between wisdom and style; its aim was to move men toward virtue and worthwhile goals” (Gray, 498). The true orator, following the Ciceronian tradition, was one who combined wide learning, extensive experience, and good character (“boni viri et eruditi”). Typically, these *uomini universali* were men of wide backgrounds: poets, careerists in government or church, teachers, lecturers, or—as in the case of Paulus—printers. Using the tools of rhetoric, elegance, and style, they directed their efforts toward teaching men and spurring them to noble action.

As a humanist, Paulus Manutius was no exception in striving to combine eloquence and wisdom to influence the world about him constructively. He frequently dedicated his prefaces to aristocrats and Italian nobility who were sympathetic to the *belles lettres*. In several of his prefaces and letters, Paulus encourages and instructs the noble and influential regarding their role as protectors of the republic. Heavily influenced by classical and Ciceronian concepts, he looked forward to a *respublica christiana*, a dual civil and religious ideal. With Cicero, Paulus envisioned a universal city governed by sages (“sapientissimi viri”) which would transcend all historical precedent. He realized that for this to come about there would need to be political as well as religious reform. He saw himself as a mediator (“moderator rei publicae”) between the glory of Rome and the civil and religious aristocrats of contemporary Italy. To this end he dedicated his talents as a printer, scholar, and Latin prose writer.

In accepting the pope’s invitation to come to Rome as the church’s official printer, Paulus was consecrating his service to the vision of a new Rome. Through the printed word he would appeal to the “oculis et in auribus clarissimae atque eruditissimae civitatis” (“to the eyes and ears of the brilliant and most learned city-state”). The potential grandeur of the Christian state built on the glorious foundation provided by the ancients—Cicero in particular—consumed Paulus to the end. The wide range of writings collected in the *Epistolae*, together with his other academic writings, reveals the ambitions and visions of a scholar and writer immersed in an ideal and dedicated to the spiritual and civic renewal of Rome.

The various Aldine editions of *Epistolae* are basically the same with a few variations of minor importance. As Renouard notes, some of the later editions suppress the names of certain individuals, usually due to orders from authorities or to squabbles between Paulus and those mentioned. Paulus also collected and published several editions of his letters in Italian (see BYU copy, *Tre libri di lettere volgari*, 1556), although these letters, written to key literary and religious figures, friends, and printers, are not as elegant as the Latin letters (“d’un style peut-être moins élégant que les lettres latines,” Renouard, 456).

REFERENCES: American STC Italian, 2:330; Bietenholz, 3:380–81; BM STC Italian, 413; Brunet, 3:1383; Grässe, 4:375; Gray, 497–514; Mouchel, 639–59; Renouard, 180, no. 12; Zedler, 19:1146 (“Hierdurch nun brachte er [Paulus Manutius] seine Schreib-Art zu solcher Vollkommenheit, daß man seine Briefe fast so hoch als des Cicero seine selbst hielte.”); UCLA, 487.

* * *

57 Paulus Manutius. *Liber de legibus*

No colophon. [1557]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [4], lxxx, [2] leaves; 32 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: A⁴ (A4 blank) B–X⁴ Y².

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Undyed pigskin over pasteboard, sewn on double raised cords, with single front-beaded green/red/yellow endbands. Plain endpapers and paste-downs. Red sprinkled edges. Green ties. Blind tooling with ornaments on front and back covers. Title calligraphed onto spine. Bound with Carlo Sigonio, *Fasti consulares*. Paulus Manutius, 1556.

In 1557, at the strong encouragement of friends and colleagues, Paulus printed his *De legibus*, and in so doing provided his contemporaries with the first in a series of four works dedicated to the study of Roman antiquities. Earlier, at the age of twenty-one, Paulus had established a solid reputation for textual editing and learning when

he took over operations of his father's press and published the *Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium lib. IIII*, a work then attributed to Cicero (see BYU copy). With the publication of *De legibus* in 1557, Paulus demonstrated that, aside from his celebrated skills as a printer and editor, he was equally capable of primary and independent scholarship. Following *De legibus*, the press published his *De senatu* in 1581 (see BYU copy), and *De comitiis* and *De civitate romana* in 1585. Together, these works cover a vast range of subjects and form a critically acclaimed contribution to the study of Roman antiquities. Written in Paulus's elegant Latin, these works are representative of his clear prose while revealing his prodigious learning. In *De legibus*, a treatise dealing with Roman law, Paulus discourses on such topics as the *princeps* and absolute justice, thereby disclosing some of his own political ideology and views on the ideal state. It has an index at the end.

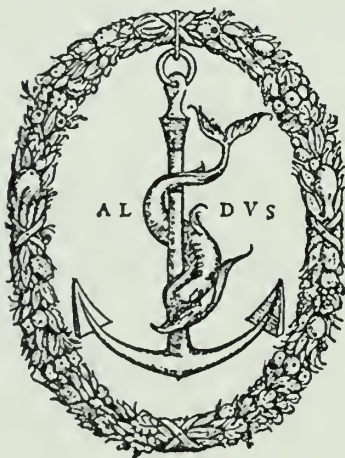
ANTIQUITATVM

ROMANARVM

Pauli Manutii

LIBER DE LEGIBVS.

Index rerum memorabilium.



VENETIIS, M. D. LVII.

Cum priuilegio Pauli IIII Pont. Max. Caroli V Imp.
Henrici Regis Galliar, Philippi Hispaniar,
Senatus Veneti, in annos XX.

The BYU copy of *De legibus* is the "five-line" first issue of the first edition, as Renouard distinguishes between the two states of this edition. On the verso of the last leaf, the first printing has only five printed lines while the second issue has thirty-three.

PROVENANCE: Contemporary ownership signature of George Frederick Kraus, Leipzig, 1604.

REFERENCES: American STC Italian, 2:329; Bietenholz, 3:381; Brunet, 3:1384; Grässe, 4:375; Renouard, 172, no. 18; UCLA, 447.

* * *

58 Aldus Manutius the Younger. *Eleganze della lingua toscana e latina*

No colophon. [1558]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [191] leaves; 16 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: †⁸ A–N⁸ ²E–F⁸ P–Y⁸ (Y⁸ blank).

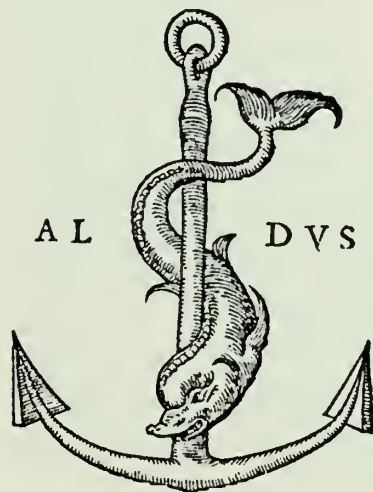
BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown goatskin, sewn on double raised cords, with single front-beaded burgundy/white endbands. Burgundy/white tackets at the head and tail. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Ring and pin clasps. Simple blind tooling on front and back covers. Title blind-tooled onto spine.

Eleganze della lingua toscana e latina, a collection of phrases and abstracts in Italian and Latin, marks the beginning of the modern thesaurus. The first edition of *Eleganze* (1556) was published when Aldus the Younger was not yet nine years of age. Although many believe that he was talented and bright as a youth,⁴ it seems highly unlikely that such a young child could be capable of producing a treatise on Italian diction and style. It is more conceivable that the book was made for his instruction by his father. As evidence, Renouard notes that Paulus describes the young Aldus in a letter not as an infant prodigy but as "[possessing a] weak body, and to whom one must speak in short clauses, practically syllable by syllable" ("imbecillum corpore, et cui

dictandum sit incisim, et pene syllabatim"). Renouard believes that Paulus was proud of his firstborn and eager to see that his son aspire to greatness as a scholar and printer, as his name might suggest. Paulus no doubt wanted to do all that he could to help establish early on a literary and scholarly reputation for the youngster and thereby return honor and glory to the family name. Thus, Aldus the Younger's name is associated with several works published while he was still in his youth. This early portfolio is very impressive: *Eleganze* (age eight); the "new and infinitely more correct" translation of Cicero's letters, *Le epistole famigliari* (age twelve);⁵ and the *Orthographiae ratio* (NO. 59) (age fourteen).

**E L E G A N Z E,
INSIEME CON LA COPIA,
DELLA LINGVA TO-
SCANA E LATINA,**

**Scielte da Aldo Manutio,
utilissime al comporre nell'una
e l'altra lingua.**



**Con priuilegio.
IN VENETIA, M. D. LVIII.**

In spite of early fame and the promise of a great and celebrated future,⁶ Aldus the Younger never accomplished much in comparison to his famous father and grandfather. In a series of letters written by Paulus, one

detects that Aldus, on account of his moral improprieties ("liederliches Leben") and financial troubles, apparently brought more embarrassment than honor to the family name (Zedler, 19:1144). Living a lavish lifestyle, he squandered his money on frivolous pursuits rather than investing in manuscripts or new types, as his grandfather had. His heart was never in the family business, and under his management—or lack of it—the prestige of the Aldine Press rapidly declined. Nevertheless, Aldus the Younger did print several noteworthy works, and he held various positions and chairs at different universities. He died at the age of fifty, and with him the glory and enterprises of the Aldine Press came to an end.

The *Eleganze* was an instant success and went through several editions. The BYU 1558 copy is one of two editions published that year. BYU also has the 1559 and 1570 editions of the work.

REFERENCES: American STC Italian, 2:326; Adams, E-100; BM STC Italian, 412; Grässe, 4:376; Renouard, 173, no. 6; UCLA, 450.

* * *

59 Aldus Manutius the Younger.
Orthographiae ratio

No colophon. [1561]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 55, [1] leaves; 17 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: A–G⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Marbled paper sewn on recessed cords, with rolled leather endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Simple gold tooling on spine. Title gold-tooled onto red leather label on spine.

Precocious though the younger Aldus may have been, serious doubts arise whether he as a fourteen-year-old was solely responsible for the 1561 first edition of the *Orthographiae ratio*. Based on vast collections of spellings from ancient inscriptions and manuscripts, the

Orthographiae sets forth a system for the uniform spelling of Latin words. The work contains Latin words arranged alphabetically and interspersed with ancient citations and reproductions of Roman transcriptions. Although the accuracy of several of the inscriptions is doubtful, despite the unlimited confidence that Aldus puts in them, the work is well done and proved to be a very useful tool. However much responsibility Aldus shared in the early editions of this work, he did appropriate the subject matter and make significant and lasting contributions to the standardization of Latin spelling. The work of Aldus the Younger on Latin orthography is probably his greatest contribution to scholarship.

ORTHOGRAPHIAE
R A T I O,
AB ALDO MANVTIO,
PAVLI F. COLLECTA.



CVM PRIVILEGIO.
V E N E T I I S, M D L X I.

The need for such a work in the sixteenth century was readily apparent, especially among editors and printers. Should one use *numquam* or *numquam*, *praelium* or *proelium*, *quicquid* or *quidquid*? Even though Latin was universally understood, writers and printers were

seldom consistent in spelling the language. Often early writers and printers varied the spelling of the same word within the same document, sometimes only a few sentences apart. The proliferation of the written word through the printing press had made the need for uniform spellings all the more urgent. Students, scholars, editors, and printers alike found a quick and handy reference in the *Orthographiae ratio*.

The first edition of this small work was met with unprecedented success and popularity, and this occasioned the need for a more expanded edition. Renouard tells us that a year after the initial publication Aldus went to Rome to be with his father. There he visited libraries and collected and researched early Roman inscriptions, medallions, coins, and manuscripts, all in preparation for a greatly expanded second edition. Aldus in the preface rightly describes the first edition as a "little book" (*libello*), at slightly over one hundred pages. The second edition, which reprints verbatim the preface of the first, lost any such distinction when it jumped to eight hundred pages. The second edition further contains a separate treatise of about two hundred pages entitled *De veterum notarum explanatione* dealing with Latin abbreviations and a section on the Roman calendar. The second edition was published in 1566 and reprinted in 1591 (see BYU copies). Aldus also published in 1575 (see BYU copy) an abridged edition of this work under the title *Epitome orthographiae*, in which he dropped the abbreviations and made general improvements. The abridged edition was probably the most useful and successful of the different editions.

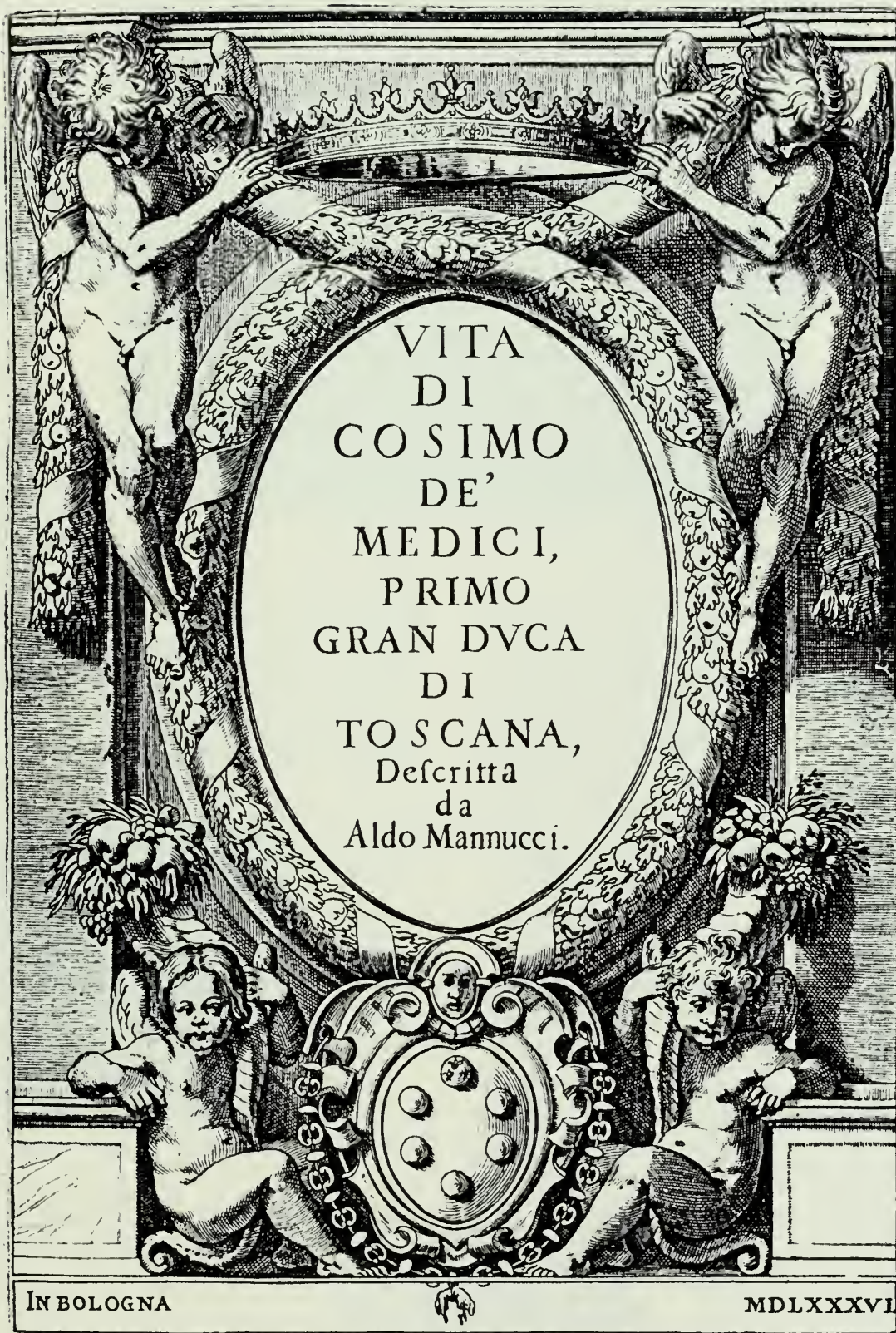
REFERENCES: Adams, M-452; American STC Italian, 2:327;
BM STC Italian, 412; Brunet, 3:1384; Grässe, 4:376;
Renouard, 182, no. 6; UCLA, 493.

* * *

60 Aldus Manutius the Younger. *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici*

No colophon. [1586]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [10], 3-187, [4] p.: map: 34 cm. (fol.).



VITA
DI
COSIMO
DE'
MEDICI,
PRIMO
GRAN DVCA
DI
TOSCANA,
Descritta
da
Aldo Mannucci.

IN BOLOGNA

MDLXXXVI



Vita di Cosimo de' Medici. Leaf †2r.

SIGNATURES: †⁴ (†4 blank) A–2A⁴ (2A4 blank).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum spine with green cloth sides, sewn on recessed cords, with single front-beaded red/white/blue endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Top edge gilt. Title stamped in black onto spine.

The *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici* is the major work of the Aldine Press during the Bologna period. Earlier, when Aldus the Younger wanted to transfer the operations of the press to Bologna, he had to petition local authorities. The *Vita* may have been designed with the specific intent to influence favorably those who were to make the decision. In fact, Sorbelli believes that the *Vita* was actually printed by someone else at Bologna, perhaps Benacci, while Aldus waited for the official approval to move his press. Whether the book ever achieved its intended effect is not clear. But, as Renouard points out, apparently the work sufficiently impressed the reigning duke and son of Cosimo, Francesco de' Medici, that Aldus was offered the chair of *belles-lettres* at the University of Pisa and other enticements which proved hard to refuse. Aldus had written or planned several other historical works which were intended to be part of his grand design to provide local histories of Italy.

Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1519–1574) was a statesman of eminent ability who ruled Florence as an absolute prince. His rule was intelligent, skillful, and despotic. He is often characterized as a ruthless tyrant with stern resolve. In fact, soon after ascending to power, he was regarded by many as the incarnation of Machiavelli's *Prince*, "inasmuch as he joined daring

to talent and prudence, was capable of great cruelty, and yet could practise mercy in due season" (*EB*, 18:36–37). In the end, the destructions of war and the heavy tax burdens imposed on Tuscany proved ruinous to the state. While recounting the life and deeds of Cosimo in the *Vita*, Aldus exercised considerable discretion and literary judgment (*"la pulitezza, la eleganza, e la proprietà, avec lesquelles sont décrites les actions du grand-duc Cosme;"* Renouard, 471), being careful not to offend the wrong people or to stir up unpleasant memories in others.



Decorated Initial Portraying Cosimo de' Medici
from *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici. Leaf B2v.*

The *Vita* has an engraved title page within a border ornamented with a wreath and cherubs. The Medici coat of arms is below the title on the title page. This work has two woodcut headpieces and initials with



Vita di Cosimo de' Medici. Leaf A3v.

scenic backgrounds. The headpieces consist of two female figures with trumpets. Within each headpiece is a cartouche; that of the first depicts a pile of crowns while that of the second shows the river god Arno with a view of Florence in the background. Mortimer notes that the second cartouche with its view of Florence seems to have been the model for the background to the woodcut initial "E." At the head of the text on page 6 is a small engraved map of Tuscany signed by Giacomo Franco. There is a portrait of Cosimo de' Medici in the woodcut capital "C" on page 12, and a portrait of Pope Pius V in the capital "P." Some copies of the *Vita* have two full-page engraved portraits of Cosimo and Francesco (the BYU copy lacks these). The engraved title page and portraits are attributed to Agostino Carracci.

The text has manuscript marginal notes throughout, with contemporary necrological notes of the grand

dukes and a genealogy of Cosimo tipped in at the back. A manuscript note in the front of the BYU copy claims that it is a large paper copy. Renouard reports that he has seen only two such copies.

PROVENANCE: Red stamp of the Colonna family library (Libreria Colonna); engraved bookplate of the Earl of Oxford; manuscript and printed ex libris of Walter Wilson Greg ("Trin. Coll. Camb. 1896").

REFERENCES: Adams, M-457; American STC Italian, 2:328; BMC STC Italian, 412; Bramanti, 291-309; Brunet, 3:1386; Gamba da Bassano, 1503; Grässe, 4:376; Mortimer, 276; Parenti, 330; Renouard, 238, no. 5; Rostenberg, 43 ("handsomely printed . . . the biography breathes the spirit of the Italian Renaissance"); Sorbelli; Sowell, 97. Cf. Brunet, supp. 1:937; UCLA, 666.



NEW WORLD BOOKS



he lifetime of the Aldine Press coincided not only with the apex of the Renaissance revival of learning, but also with the first great European expansion beyond the continent.

Nowhere were the new discoveries more dramatic and exciting than in the realm of oceanic exploration and the colonization of the Western Hemisphere. The voyages of Columbus to America, Cortez's conquest of Mexico, and Pizarro's conquest of Peru marked a new era for the human race and inaugurated the modern age more decisively than any other series of events. As revolutionary as Galileo's discovery of a heliocentric galaxy, the New World discoveries similarly displaced the center of gravity in politics and commerce, substituting the ocean for the Mediterranean and dethroning Italy from her seat of central importance. Gradually the focal point shifted from the eastern to the western powers of Europe, opening paths for expansion and forcing philosophers and statesmen to regard the European nations as a single group out of many in the diverse units of humanity upon the planet. "The Renaissance, far from being the re-birth of antiquity with its civilization confined to the Mediterranean, with its Hercules' Pillars beyond which lay Cimmerian darkness, was thus effectively the entrance upon a quite incalculably wider state of life, on which mankind at large has since enacted one great drama" (*EB*, 23:90).

The excitement generated by the early voyages led to an acceleration of knowledge on an unparalleled scale. New understanding was gained of the earth itself, as well as in the natural sciences, where newly discovered plants, animals, and other natural products made previous expertise obsolete. For example, the intellectual boundaries of such fields as botany, chemistry, geology, and therapeutic medicine changed overnight, bringing about a vast revision and expansion in the annals of recorded knowledge. Likewise, provincial concepts of history and geography gave way to a wider comprehension of civilization as a whole.

The great presses of the day were at the center of the intellectual revival. The Manutii in Italy, the Froben in Basel, and the Estiennes in Paris all committed to print what this age of discovery had uncovered. Beginning with the ancient Greeks and the geographers of the ancient world and continuing down to works of his own day, Aldus the Elder in particular took an interest in publishing treatises relevant to the New World discoveries. The discovery of the New World and the invention of printing were linked in the minds of Aldus's contemporaries. The Paduan philosopher Buonamico wrote in 1539 that these were the two greatest events since antiquity (cited in Hirsch 394–95).¹ Printed works of geography, ancient and contemporary alike, appealed to a receptive public intrigued with the discoveries of new lands and peoples.

Even as early as Homeric times, as evidenced by the *Odyssey* and the legend of the Argonauts, the Greeks sought to learn of the world around them (Penrose, 2). Among the greatest of the ancient geographers were Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny. Ptolemy is most noted for two works; his *Astronomy* (cf. BYU Aldine copies of 1516 and 1558) and his *Geography*. Ptolemy's ambition was to give accurate representation of the world as he knew it—a far larger world than that known by his predecessors. Strabo, the Greek geographer living in Rome, wrote an encyclopedic political and descriptive geography (*Peri geographias*, cf. BYU 1516 Aldine copy) of the then known world (*ibid.*). It constituted a glorified gazetteer full of plain facts and useful information. Pliny the Elder devoted four books of his *Natural History* (cf. BYU Aldine copies of 1535, 1536, 1540 and 1559) to geography, in which he mixes truthful information with mythical fictions. Because of heightened interest stemming from the discovery of new lands combined with the rediscovery of ancient geographic texts in the early Renaissance, these early writers exercised considerable influence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Representing this period are a few treatises published by the Aldine Press reflective of the excitement of discovery which was in the air. Among the ancients, a

good example is the 1513 edition of Plato (NO. 61). Plato and his creation of the myth of Atlantis had a great impact upon many of those who during the Renaissance launched ships in search of new lands. Similarly, the spirit of discovery of new peoples and new cultures—a spirit kindred to Herodotus (NO. 62) in his journeys and writings—charged the atmosphere of sixteenth century Europe. Dionysius Periegetes's curious *Orbis terrae descriptio* (NO. 63) also enjoyed enormous popularity in Aldus's day as an elementary handbook on geography; students and teachers alike valued its simple Greek and geographical pointers.

Among authors contemporary with the Aldine Press, the exhibit highlights a few works which make particular reference to either the newly discovered America or Christopher Columbus. Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario* (NO. 65) is a charming work full of descriptions and illustrated maps of recently discovered islands. Of particular interest is the description of Pizarro's conquest in the New World, together with maps of Mexico and North America. Paulus Manutius in *De gli elementi* (NO. 67) and Pietro Bembo in *Historiae Venetae* (NO. 66) both make reference to the growing fame of Columbus; while Galeazzo Flavio Capella writes of the exploits of the Portuguese in the New World in *L'anthropologia* (NO. 64).

Contemporary scholars, poets and general public alike saw in the early explorers—adventurous souls dedicated to discovery and new knowledge, “continually seeking after new experiences” (from Pietro Bembo's *Historiae Venetae*)—an extension of the spirit of the times. The Aldine Press captured much of this spirit, serving as a barometer in monitoring the happenings and concerns, the problems and preoccupations, the hopes and despairs of its age. Its publications reflect the excitement and interests of the sixteenth century in the discoveries of the day—new vistas on the intellectual horizon as well as on the physical globe.



61 Plato. *Works*

COLOPHON: Venetiis in aedib. Aldi, et Andreae socerimense. Septembri M.D. XIII. [1513]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 2 v. in 1 ([32], 502; [2], 439, [1] leaves); 31 cm. (fol.).

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin over pasteboard sewn on single raised cords, with single front beaded blue/white endbands. Blue/white silk page marker. Gilt red decorated edges. Simple gold tooling on front and back covers and board edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on turn-ins and spine. Title gold-tooled onto two leather labels (one red, one green) on spine.

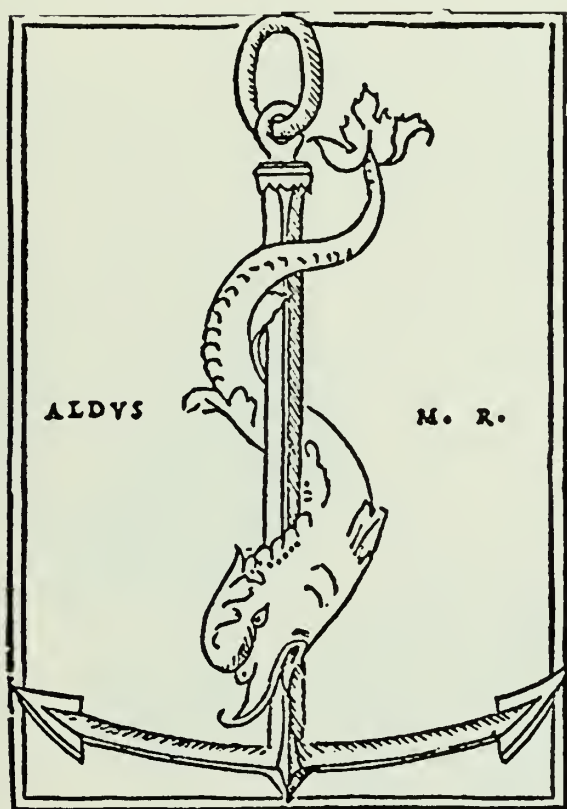
Plato (ca. 427–347 B.C.), famous student of Socrates, is best known as one of the world's greatest philosophers. His writings consist of twenty-five dialogues and the *Apology*, and thirteen letters whose genuineness is disputed. No other author reveals as Plato does the power, the beauty, and the flexibility of Greek prose. His style possesses infinite variety. His narrative is easy, graceful, and charming, infused with flashes of humor and the noblest pathos. In another vein he is capable of gorgeous pageantry and stately grandeur (Hammond and Scullard, 839–42). Plato's writings portray the highest intellectual life and no doubt epitomized for Aldus all that was noble, beautiful, and great from among that which the ancient Greeks had to offer.

The 1513 Aldine edition of Plato, the first complete printed edition, has been praised by scholars for its editorial excellence and aesthetic beauty. Aldus edited the work with Marcus Musurus, and the task of preparing it for publication was exceptionally laborious, representing an enormous undertaking for both men.² They worked from a vast collection of Greek manuscripts procured by Lascaris during a trip to the East with the help of Lorenzo de' Medici (the father of Pope Leo X) from the monastery at Mount Athos. As a tribute to the Medici for their support and sponsorship, Musurus wrote an elegiac poem on Plato (preliminary leaves I3 and 4). It is said that this poem so delighted Pope Leo X that on that account alone he appointed

Musurus an archbishop (Dibdin, 2:132). In the preface, dedicated to Leo X, Aldus eloquently compares and contrasts the miseries of contemporary war-plagued Italy with the sublime and tranquil pursuits of learning.

ἌΓΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

OMNIA PLATONIS OPERA.



In the time of Plato, practical knowledge of the world beyond the Mediterranean and Black Sea was very limited. The limits of the world were not known, but it was felt that the land was bounded by ocean, which covered the rest of the globe. The possibility of land outside of known territories was advanced by Plato in his two well-known dialogues *Timaeus* and *Critias*. In them, Plato introduced one of the most remarkable of all geographical fables: that of the lost continent of Atlantis, somewhere in the Western

Ocean—a fable which survived through the Middle Ages and had a measure of influence on early Renaissance thought (Penrose, 2).

In his dedicatory preface to Pope Leo X, Aldus makes reference to the inhabitants of the Americas as “those other peoples in the Western Ocean whom the Spanish have discovered in recent years.”³ The excitement caused by the announcement of recent discoveries in the New World must have kindled new interest in Plato’s discussion of a lost continent. During the Renaissance numerous attempts were made to rationalize the myth of Atlantis. This island was often identified with America, the Canaries, Scandinavia, and even Palestine. Some ethnologists attempted to trace the ancestors of the ancient Italians, the Guanchos and the Basques to the inhabitants of this fabled island. Even as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the credibility of the legend was seriously debated by such notables as Montaigne, Buffon and Voltaire.

Fable or not, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many enterprising adventurers fully believed in such legends as the Golden River of El Dorado and the lost continent of Atlantis. Visions of enchanted isles with opulent riches and traditions of an earthly paradise caught the imagination of many and became the object of voyages of discovery (ibid. 13–14).

REFERENCES: Adams, P-1436; American STC Italian, 2:606; BM STC Italian, 524; Brunet, 4:694 (“première édition de ce philosophe, et l’une des plus importantes productions de presses aldines”); Bunbury, 402; Dibdin, 2:132–33 (“exquisitely beautiful”); Geankoplos [1962], 149–160 (“this publication of Plato [is] of inestimable value.”); Geankoplos [1976], 179 (“[Musurus’s “Hymn to Plato”] is considered by some scholars to be the finest piece of poetry written in the Greek language since antiquity.”); Grässe, 5:314; Kristeller, 25; Panzer, 8:44, no. 630; Renouard, 62, no. 4 (“importante édition, devenue rare et précieuse”); Rostenberg, 170 (“One of the greatest publications of all time! . . . A masterpiece of typography and scholarship, the work breathes the spirit of the Renaissance and remains one of the most notable accomplishments of the Aldine Press!”); UCLA, 97/1, 97/2.

* * *

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΕΝΝΕΑ, ΟΙ ΓΕΡ ΕΡΙΚΑ
ΛΟΙΝΤΑΙ ΜΟΙΣΑΙ.

HERODOTI LIBRINOVEM QVIBVS MVSARVM
INDITA SVNT NOMINA.

ΜΟΥΣΩΝ ΟΝΟ
ΜΑΤΑ.

ΚΑΝΩ.
ΕΥΤΙΡΤΩ.
ΘΑΛΙΑ.
ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ.
ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ.
ΕΡΑΤΩ.
ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.
ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.
ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ.

ΜΥΣΑΡΥΜΝΟ
ΜΙΝΑ.

Clio.
Euterpe.
Thalia.
Melpomene.
Terpsichore.
Erato.
Polymnia.
Urania.
Calliope.



COLOPHON: Venetiis in domo Aldi mense Septembri. M.
DIL. [1502]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [140] leaves; 32 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: 2A2A–2P2R⁸ 2Σ2S⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Brown calfskin, sewn on single raised cords, with single front-beaded red/white endbands. Marbled endpapers and pastedowns. Yellow edges. Simple gold tooling on front and back covers. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto black leather label on spine. Bound with Gemistus Plethon. Aldus, 1503.

Ever since antiquity the *History* of the Greek historian Herodotus (ca. 484–425 B.C.) has been recognized for its simple, flowing style and entertaining narrative. However,

this work has been questioned, both in ancient and modern times, as to its trustworthiness. Several ancient writers accused Herodotus of intentional untruthfulness, changing his usual epithet “the father of history” to “the father of lies.” Modern critics generally acquit him of this charge, but many still question his credibility as a historian. Not until the sixteenth century, as the noted classical historiographer Arnaldo Momigliano explains, did Herodotus recover from many of the indictments passed on him by ancient critics (137). The recovery began in 1474 with Lorenzo Valla’s Latin translation, and Herodotus’s reputation continued to improve with Henri Estienne’s *Apologia pro Herodoto* (1566).

The 1502 Aldine edition is the first printing of Herodotus in the original Greek. Religious and scholarly controversies between the Italian humanists and their Byzantine colleagues had hampered the study of Herodotus in the West, but attitudes were changing quickly during the age of exploration. This was due mainly to foreign diplomats, missionaries, and explorers who wrote back to their native countries of faraway lands and strange customs. Their accounts were “extraordinarily reminiscent of Herodotus both in style and in method,” especially reports from travelers and explorers concerning the discovery of America. These accounts, as Momigliano points out, “vindicated Herodotus, because they showed that one could travel abroad, tell strange stories, enquire into past events without necessarily being a liar.... [The exploration] of foreign countries and the discovery of America revealed customs even more extraordinary than those described by Herodotus” (ibid.).

Aldus, attuned to the spirit of his times, was able to see beyond the detractors of Herodotus and valued the ancient historian, not only for his “sweet, candid, and flowing” language (“dulcis, candidus & effusus”), but also for the merit of his contributions to the study of the past and of foreign cultures. While acknowledging criticism of the historian, Aldus defends the study of Herodotus in his preface and sets the stage for his popularity in the sixteenth century.

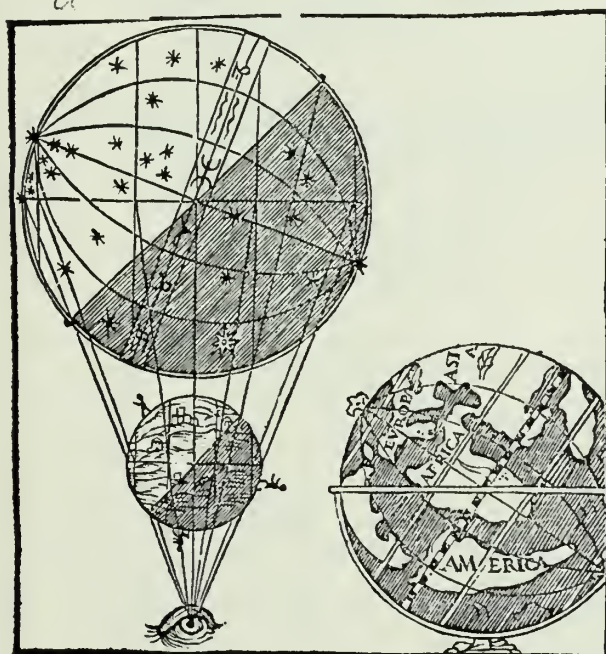
This edition of Herodotus is described by Dibdin as a very faithful and accurate edition, compiled with great care, and executed with considerable typographical elegance. He notes that it is ranked among the very best productions of the Aldine Press.

REFERENCES: Adams, H-394; American STC Italian, 2:119; BM STC Italian, 326; Brunet, 3:122 ("de toute beauté"); Dibdin, 1:356; Grässe, 3:254 ("belle édition"); Momigliano, 135-41; Panzer, 8:354, no. 129; Renouard, 35, no. 8; UCLA, 50.

* * *

63 Dionysius Periegetes. *Orbis terrae descriptio*

DIONYSIVS LYBICVS POETA
DE SITU HABITABILIS ORBIS
A SIMONE LEMNIO POETA LAVREATO
NUPER LATINVS FACTVS.



VENETIIS C. M. D. XLIII.
ex libris: Jo. Franc. Hispanis
Cum gratia & privilegio.

COLOPHON: Venetiis per Bartholomeum cognomento Imperatorem, Franciscum eius generum. Anno M. D. XLIII. [1543]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [40] leaves; 14 cm. (8vo).

SIGNATURES: A-E⁸.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Limp vellum, sewn on single cords.
Title calligraphed onto spine.

Dionysius, a Greek author of the time of Hadrian, is commonly known as *Periegetes* (the guide), to distinguish him among the numerous authors of the same name. His name is derived from the subject of his poem, *Orbis terrae descriptio*, here called *De situ habitabilis orbis* ("Descriptive Account of the Habitable World"). Designed more as a geographical handbook for a reader of the Greek poets than as a systematic or scientific treatise on geography, *De situ habitabilis orbis* undertakes a verse account of the known world and its seas, countries, and islands.

Dionysius was not a typical geographer who attempted to enlarge the boundaries of geographical knowledge. The author wrote as a grammarian, or man of letters, and makes it clear that none of his geographic knowledge came from personal observation. He does not, he tells us, "dwell in dark ships, or follow the profession of a merchant, or traverse the Erythraean Sea to visit the Ganges, as many do, regardless of their lives for the sake of accumulating boundless wealth." Instead, Dionysius is guided only by the Muses, who enable him, without exposing himself to the dangers of travel to describe the distant seas and remote lands and inhabitants (Bunbury, 480-82).

As Bunbury notes, the limited value of this versified compendium is as a summary of what was known about geography in antiquity and perhaps as a marginal guide for beginners in geography. In spite of dubious poetic⁴ or geographic significance, this little work somehow has managed to survive through the centuries. During the Renaissance, *De situ habitabilis orbis* even became quite popular, though most now concede that it "enjoyed a reputation far above its merits" (ibid., 490). Such popularity during the sixteenth century can be attributed, no doubt, to the combined interest of humanists for newly published ancient texts, along with the growing interest in geography as reports of the discovery of new lands circulated.

The 1543 Aldine edition of *De situ habitabilis orbis* was translated into Latin verse by Simon Lemnius (d. 1550), who in his dedicatory preface mentions both Amerigo Vespucci and Columbus and the discovery of America.⁵ The title page of this work has three globes depicting

the stars, night and day, and a view of the earth which shows North and South America as well as Europe, Africa, and Asia. South America is labeled "America." The woodcut used for this illustration is the same as that used in Bartholomeo Zanetti's 1537 publication in Venice of Sacro Bosco's *Sphera volgare* (leaf H3r). Franciscus, mentioned in the colophon, is Francesco Torresani, the uncle of Paulus Manutius.

For another Aldine edition of Dionysius, see NO. 19.

REFERENCES: Alden, 1543/4; BM STC Italian, 217; Brunet, 2:731 ("Opusculum rare"); Grässe, 2:402; Renouard, 128, no. 7 ("très rare volume"); Sabin, 20211.

* * *

64 Galeazzo Flavio Capella. *L'anthropologia*

COLOPHON: In Venetia nelle case delli heredi d'Aldo Romano, & d'Andrea d'Asola, nell' anno M. D. XXXIII del mese di Genaro. [1533]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 74 [i.e., 75], [1] leaves; 17 cm. (8vo). Errors in foliation: no. 56 repeated; 40 misnumbered 48.

SIGNATURES: A-I⁸ K⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum with Yapp edges, sewn recessed cords, with single front-beaded red/white endbands. Blue endpapers and pastedowns. Gilt edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto two leather labels (one red, one green) on spine.

Galeazzo Flavio Capella (1487–1537), Italian statesman and historian, was designated imperial orator by the Emperor Maximilian (1459–1519) because of his excellent education, especially in literature and the humanities. Originally surnamed Capra, his name was later changed to Capella (meaning "chapel" in Italian) as a tribute to his "divine" attributes such as knowledge and purity. In addition to many orations, Capella published several historical works between 1530 and 1535. His career was cut short when he died from injuries sustained in a horse-riding accident.

L'ANTHROPOLOGIA DI
GALEAZZO CAPELLA
SECRETARIO DELL'
ILLVSTRISSIMO
SIGNOR DVCA
DI MILANO.



Hassì nel priuilegio, & nella gratia ottenuta dalla
Illustrissima Signoria, che in questa, ne in niun'
altra città del suo dominio si possa im=
primere, ne altrove impresso uen=
dere questo libro dell' Anthro=
pologia per anni xx. sotto
le pene in esso con=
tenute.

M. D. XXXIII.

The three books which constitute *L'anthropologia* deal with the dignity of man, the virtues of women, and the misery and vanity inherent in both. Book two was published separately at Rome in 1525 under the title *Dell'eccellenza e dignità delle donne*. Capella makes reference to the New World in book one while discussing the virtues of man. He notes: "I will not speak of the Portuguese, who have recently had the daring to search for the other pole and to pass into the zone which the ancient ones, not knowing, held to be uninhabited due to its closeness to the sun" (leaf 10r, trans. Janson).

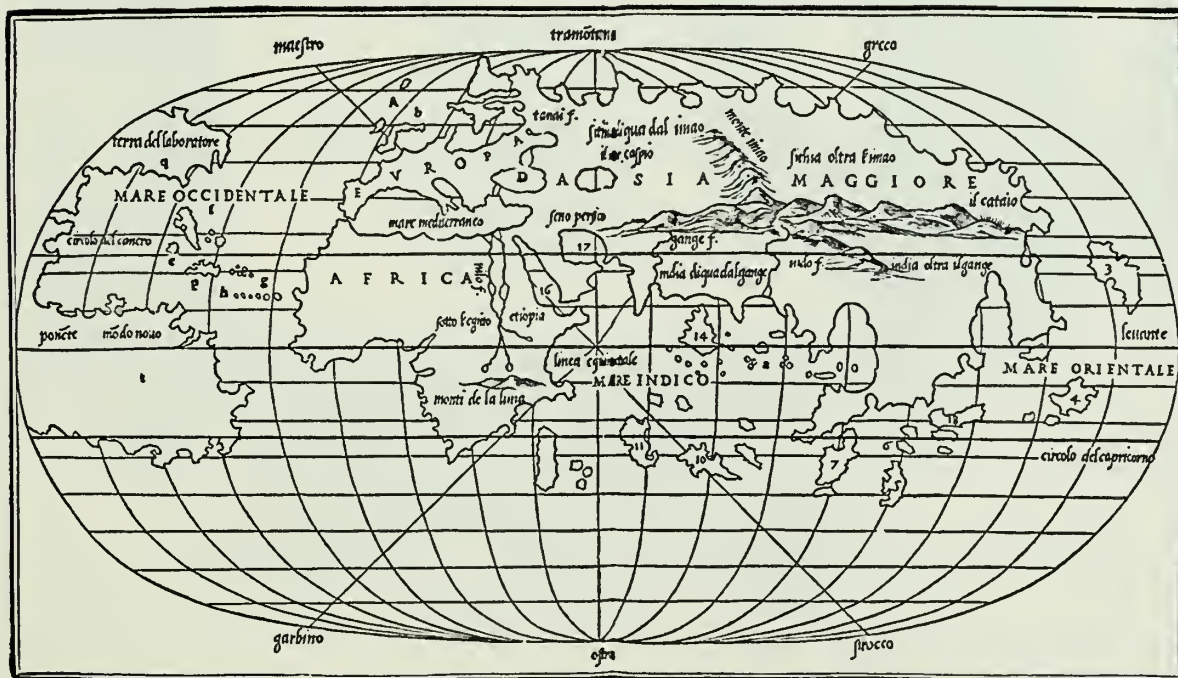
REFERENCES: Adams, C-578; Alden, 1533/7; American STC Italian, 1:346; BM STC Italian, 145; Brunet, 1:1558; Grässe, 2:41; Janson, 54; Panzer, 8:530, no. 1671;

* * *

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Dark blue leather spine, with marbled paper sides, sewn on single raised cords, with rolled leather endbands. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Blue sprinkled edges. Gold and blind-tooled with ornaments on spine. Title gold-tooled onto spine.



Isolario, Leaf B4r.



Isolario. Leaves 2D1v and 2D2r.

ISOLARIO

DIBENEDETTO BORDONE

Nel qual si ragiona di tutte l'Isole del mondo,
con li lor nomi antichi & moderni, historie,
fauole, & modi del loro viuere, & in qual
parte del mare stanno, & in qual pa-
rallelo & clima giaciono. Ri-
coreto, & di Nuouo
ristampato.

Con la giunta del Monte del Oro
nouamente ritrouato.

CON IL BREVE DEL PAPA

Et gratia & priuilegio della Illustrissi-
ma Signoria di Venetia co-
me in quelli appare.



M. D.



XLVII.

Standing side by side on the “threshold of the typographic era,” Aldus Manutius and Benedetto Bordone (1450–1539) were dedicated, in their respective fields, to the revival of classical learning, each representing a different era. Aldus, “the first of the scholar printers,” was dependent upon the scribes of Venice and Padua for his copy and modeled both his types and his printed pages on their manuscripts. Bordone, on the other hand, was “the last of the great manuscript-illuminators” and a much-admired miniaturist and map engraver (cf. Lowry [1983]).

Isolario (*The Island Book*, or *Book of Islands*) is an example of a printed map book, a genre popular in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The work describes the cultures, climates, history, and myths of the known islands of the world. Due to the recent transatlantic discoveries, the map books of Bordone’s day had greatly expanded to include all the new information. The *Isolario* is a good example of this, including maps and illustrations of the Western Hemisphere. Bordone uses an oval illustration to depict the world, a cartographic convention which he had earlier invented. In his depiction of the “Mondo Novo” he describes North America as “Terra del laboratore,” or “Land of the laborer”—probably a reference to slavery. *Isolario* also contains the earliest known printed account of Pizarro’s conquest of Peru.

Of particular interest in this work are the many woodcut maps, twelve of which relate to America. One map depicts “Temistitan” (Tenochtitlán, modern Mexico City) before its destruction by Cortez. Another shows “Ciampagu,” the earliest known map of Japan printed in Europe.

The printer’s device is that of Federico Torresani (a tower), printed for him by Paulus Manutius. The title page is in red and black, within a floriated ornamental border with dolphins. The work was originally published at Venice in 1528 by Nic. d’Aristotile. The woodcut blocks are those originally designed for that edition by Niccolò Zoppino. Bordone’s privilege, granted in 1526, mentions the cutting of these woodblocks (leaf 2A1v).

REFERENCES: Adams, B-2485; Alden, 1547/2; American STC Italian, 1:283; Armstrong; Janson, 9; BM STC Italian, 120;

Brunet, 1:1112; Church, 86; Harrisse, 422, no. 275; Lowry [1983], 173–97; Mortimer, 82; Renouard, 141, no. 9; Sabin, 6421; Sowell, 48; UCLA, 335.

* * *

66 Pietro Bembo. *Historiae Venetae libri XII*

PETRI BEMBI CARDINALIS HISTO- RIAE VENETAE LIBRI XII.



Cum priuilegiis.

VENETIIS M. D. LI.

COLOPHON: Venetiis, apud Aldi filios. M. D. LI. [1551]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: [4], 203, [1] leaves : 31 cm. (fol.).

SIGNATURES: *⁴ A–Z⁴ a–z⁴ 2A–2E⁴.

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Vellum, sewn on single vellum thongs, slotted through cover at the spine edge, with single front-beaded yellow/green laced-in endbands. Remnant of a green page marker. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Dark blue edges. Coat of arms stamped in gold onto front and back covers. Title gold-tooled onto brown leather label on spine.

Among the Latin works of Bembo contained in this book is a history of Venice from 1487 to 1513, which had been commissioned by the Venetian Council of Ten. Noted as a cause of the declining economy of Venice, an account of Spanish and Portuguese exploration in America is found in book six (leaves 89–99). Of particular interest is Bembo's description of Columbus as "a man of sharp intellect, who traversed many immense regions and much of the ocean" (leaf 82r, trans. Janson). "The human spirit," Bembo concludes, "continually seeks after new experiences" (ibid.).⁶

The BYU copy of *Historiae Venetae* is the 1551 first edition, printed by Paulus Manutius for Carlo Gualteruzzi di Fano. There are two known issues of this work. In one, the printer's name and an Aldine device appear on the title page, the verso being blank. In the other (BYU's), neither the printer's name nor the Aldine dolphin and anchor appear on the title page; instead, there is a Hermes and Athena device, a device used by Gualtero Scotto. The printing was shared by both printers. On the verso of the title page of this issue are privileges from Julius III, Charles V, Cosimo de' Medici, and the Venetian Senate.

For biographical information about Bembo, see NO. 40.

PROVENANCE: The C. Lloyd / H. J. B. Clements copy with C. Lloyd's coat of arms and bookplate of H. J. B. Clements.

REFERENCES: Adams, B-597; Alden, 1551/7; American STC Italian, 1:192; BM STC Italian, 80; Brunet, 1:767; Grässe, 1:333; Renouard, 152, no. 17 ("belle édition"); Rostenberg, 20 ("in fine Hellenistic style [Bembo] transformed his Turks into Thracians in the course of his History"); Sabin, 4619; UCLA, 370.

67 Paulus Manutius. *De gli elementi*

DE GLI ELEMENTI,
E DI MOLTI LORO
NOTABILI EFFETTI.



IN VENETIA, M. D. LVII.
Con priuilegio per anni X.

No colophon. [1557]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: XXXIIII leaves; 22 cm. (4to).

SIGNATURES: A–H⁴ I².

BINDING DESCRIPTION: Black leather spine with marbled paper sides, sewn on single raised cords. Plain endpapers and pastedowns. Yellow sprinkled edges. Gold-tooled with ornaments on spine.

Although the title page to *De gli elementi* reveals no author, the dedicatory preface credits the work to Paulus Manutius. This small pamphlet discusses the four elements—fire, air, water, earth—which, according to

several ancient and Renaissance thinkers, constitute the material universe. Citing such venerable authorities as Plato, Aristotle, Galen, and Democritus, Paulus Manutius discusses in quasi-scientific fashion the purported effects of these four elements on the human body and soul. The 1557 Aldine is the only known printing of this work.

On leaf XXIII, Paulus describes Columbus and the ocean currents leading to the New World. He states that Columbus discovered these currents, which made it possible to travel toward the New World in less than a

month. The return voyage to Spain, however, is hampered by these same currents, which so slow the navigator that the trip takes three to four months.

REFERENCES: Adams, M-470; Alden, 1557/27; American STC Italian, 2:330; BM STC Italian, 413; Brunet, 3:1384; Grässe, 4:375; Janson, 37; Renouard, 170, no. 4; Sabin, 44434 ("In this scarce tract Manuzio not only speaks of Columbus, but also of the stream in the ocean owing to the 'motodiurno de cieli'"); Sowell, 70; UCLA, 436.



NOTES

PREFACE

(page ix)

1. This count is of titles only and does not take into account holdings of multi-volume works, nor of multiple copies of some titles. For example, the 1582–83 edition of Cicero, of which the library holds complete copies of both issues, was published in ten volumes, each of which is sometimes considered a distinct entity. For a more detailed look at the library's holdings, see the "Checklist of Aldine

Editions in the Harold B. Lee Library" at the end of this catalog.

2. Accounts of the development of the Brigham Young University Library's Aldine Collection will be found in Rostenberg and Stern [1977a], and more recently in Sowell [1994], which also includes a general description of the library's special collections.

INTRODUCTION

(pages 1–23)

1. Its Latin name was "characteres cursivi seu cancellarii."

2. He once wrote, "My days and nights are devoted to the preparation of material. I can scarcely take food or strengthen my stomach owing to the multiplicity and pressure of business. With both hands occupied, and surrounded by pressmen who are clamorous for work, there is scarcely time even to blow my nose" (as quoted in Orcutt, 57–58).

3. In the preface to the 1495 and all subsequent editions, as well as in his own grammar, Aldus states his declaration of intent: "I have decided to spend all my life in the service of my fellow-men. God is my witness, I desire nothing more than to do something for them, as my past life shows, wherever it has been spent, and as I hope my future life will show still more."

4. Despite the acrostic device, the author's identity remains controversial, as does the existence of a lady of Treviso called Polia. See Parronichi, and Perrins, 138.

5. George Painter, Keeper of Incunabula at the British Museum, wrote "Gutenberg's 42-line Bible of 1455 and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499 confront one another from opposite ends of the incunable period with equal and contrasting pre-eminence. The Gutenberg Bible is sombrely and sternly German, Gothic, Christian and medieval; the *Hypnerotomachia* is radiantly and graciously Italian, classic, pagan and renascent. These are the two supreme masterpieces of the art of printing, and stand at the two poles of human endeavour and desire" (as quoted in Barolini, 6).

6. Regarding Colonna's use of Egyptian hieroglyphics in the *Hypnerotomachia*, Iversen notes: "strange as it might seem and difficult to understand, his inscriptions were in fact considered genuine and authentic by most of his contemporaries, and even a critical scholar like Erasmus was con-

vinced Colonna had had access to the copies of the vast works of Chairemon in order to make them" (Iversen, 68).

7. "Qui graiis dedit Aldus, en latinis / Dat nunc grammata scalpta daedaleis / Francisci manibus Bononiensis" (trans. Bühler [1950], 207).

8. "In eo enim fere omnia reposita sunt, quae desiderate quis possit ad perfectam, absolutamq[ue] cognitionem litterarum graecarum, & eorum praecipue quae leguntur apud poetas; qui verba variis figuris, ac linguis, ita saepe imutant, ut facilius sit."

9. Theodore de Vinne notes, "There is a flavor of querulousness in his [Aldus's] prefaces before the year 1500, which indicates that his books did not find cheerful purchasers" (17).

10. "Postq. suscepi hanc duram provinciam (annus enim agitur iam septimus) possem iureiurando affirmare me tot annos ne horam quidem solidae habuisse quietis."

11. "Sic doleo, ut, si possem, mutarem singula errata nummo aureo" (preface to 1513 edition of Plato).

12. Aldus often acknowledged the competency of his editors. For example, in the preface to Aristotle's *Logic*, he reminds his readers that he had "some of the ablest critics . . . to assist in the correction."

13. "Dicere queo, quicquid meo labore formis excuditur, ipsis exemplaribus longe correctius ac magis perfectum exire ex aedibus nostris" (preface to Aristotle's *Physics*, as quoted in Palmer, 155).

14. "My only consolation is the assurance that my labors are helpful to all, and that the fame and use of my books increase from day to day, so that even the 'book-buriers' are now bringing their books out of their cellars and offering them for sale." (trans. Lemke)

15. "The Aldine anchor is perhaps the most celebrated of

all printer's marks. It is singularly graceful in design, eminently characteristic of the distinguished scholar who first adopted it, and is affixed to a series of works which contributed more than those of any single printer or family of printers to the progress of learning and literature in Europe" (Christie [1902], 247).

16. "... me semper habere comites, ut oportere aiunt, delphinum et ancoram. Nam et dedimus multa cunctando et damus assidue."

17. Renouard claims that this was done to fill up what otherwise would have been blank leaves. This seems rather

unlikely, given the importance of the text, the *editio princeps* of any part of the New Testament in Greek, and the fact that the careful printer Aldus never left blank leaves in the middle of his gatherings. The 1504 Gregory of Nazianzus was not the only time Aldus printed a secondary text in the inner leaves of the gatherings. The 1512 *Erotemata* of Lascaris (NO. 2) has a similar arrangement, with Cebetis Thebanus's *Tabula* sandwiched into the text.

18. Regarding the importance of this production, Martin Sicherl writes, "Die Bedeutung dieses Werkes kann nicht hoch genug veranschlagt werden" (10).

GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

(pages 25–63)

1. This description is based on the film *The Making of a Renaissance Book*, produced by the American Friends of the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Although this film describes the procedures at the press of Christopher Plantin, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century printers and typographers all over Europe used nearly identical methods.

2. E.g., for ὅτι μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθόν, he printed ὅτι μόνον το καα οναταθον (cf. Proctor [1900], 24–25).

3. Discussion of this application for privilege is found in Barker [1992], 55, 65 ff., 91 ff.; and Proctor [1900], 100. The text of the application is printed in Barker [1992], 105.

4. Zacharias Kallierges also set up a Greek press in Venice and received privileges in 1498 for his type and the work he printed in it, the *Etymologicum magnum*. However, Kallierges was very careful not to infringe on Aldus's privilege, having possibly learned from Gabriel's lawsuit. Barker believes that Kallierges probably set up his company with knowledge and approval of Aldus (Barker [1992], 97).

5. Nigel Wilson softens this somewhat in a 1992 publication, in which he calls the Aldine Sophocles "a modest achievement from a textual point of view" and notes that "the edition remained important for some time" (Wilson [1992], 138). The most interesting and controversial contribution of this edition was the Aldine editor's attribution of line 572 of *Antigone* to Antigone rather than her sister Ismene, against the unanimous testimony of the manuscripts. This has a rather important effect on the play at that point, and scholarly opinion is divided on the issue.

6. Reproduced in *Rome Reborn*, 15.

7. "Notet sibi igitur unusquisque singulas quasque totius libri semipaginas arithmetice numeris, quae sunt ad summum numero quadringentae & quattuor." ("Each should note for himself the individual pages of the whole book in numbers, which add up to 404.") (In fact, there are 408 pages.)

8. Aldus: "[The text] will be particularly pleasing to you because it will seem quite different from before on account of emendation and the addition and restoration of verses to their original state. In this I have been particularly helped by Girolamo Avanzi . . ." Avanzi: "Aldus . . . is going to print 3,000 copies of Catullus, emended by my own zeal and incredibly hard work . . ."

9. It is possible that a few leaves of the manuscript survive in the Pierpont Morgan Library, as Manuscript M.462, a late fifth- to early sixth-century uncial manuscript which may have originated in Italy. See Lowe and Rand, and Lowe. For a cautionary view of this conclusion, see Merrill, and Case.

10. "Nobilis, literator, plebeie, impressor, mercator, mercenarie quisquis es."

11. "Totam autem picturam, ut esset cognitu facilior, uariis coloribus distinguendam iussimus." ("We have directed that the entire picture be distinguished with various colors so that it might be easier to recognize.")

12. Horace, *Ars poetica* 476, the last line of the poem.

13. The Latin preface is reproduced in its entirety in Renouard, 70 ff.

14. Possibly a reference to the story of Apollo and Coronis.

HUMANIST TEXTS

(pages 65–87)

1. We wish to acknowledge the help of Robert and Ljiljana Maccabee with Serbo-Croatian sources needed to write this article.

WORKS FOR AND AT ROME

(pages 89–98)

1. “Universam Tridentini Concilii trium Pontificum distinctam temporibus historiam, eodem, cujus ad gloriam haec omnia diriguntur, juvante Deo, propediem expecta.”

2. “. . . unam cathedram constituit . . . & primatus Petro datur, ut una Ecclesia Christi et cathedra una monstretur: & pastores sunt omnes, et grex unus ostenditur, qui & apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur . . .”

3. “Nec est alienum si priscorum patrum scriptis pia & catholicae adhibeantur interpretationes, & veri sensus, ad con-

servandam semper Ecclesiae unitatem, qua B. Cypriano nil fuit in scribendo optabilius. Alioqui haereseum & schismatum nullus finis.”

4. “The responsibility for its notorious deficiencies was laid at the door of the printers and others (*vel typographorum et aliorum*). Orders to hasten the compositors and proofreaders created a crowd of misprints not less in number . . . than those of the previous edition” (Morison, 165).

MANUTII AS AUTHORS

(pages 99–111)

1. In the *Praise of Folly*, Erasmus pokes fun at Aldus and the other grammarians of his day who took themselves too seriously. He light-heartedly describes them as a quarrelsome bunch overly sensitive about grammatical endings and correct pronunciation. “May I have the ill-will of the whole grammatical world, if I lie. I used to know a certain polymath versed in Greek, Latin, mathematics, philosophy, and medicine, and a master of them all, then some sixty years old; laying aside all the others, he vexed and tortured himself with grammar for more than twenty years, deeming that he would be happy if he were allowed to live until he had settled with certainty how the eight parts of speech are to be distinguished, a thing which none of the Greeks or Latins succeeded in doing definitively. It becomes a matter to be put to the test of battle, when someone makes a conjunction of a word which belongs in the bailiwick of the adverbs. Thanks to this, there are as many grammars as there are grammarians—nay, more; for my friend Aldus single-handed produced grammars on more than five occasions. He has overlooked no work of the kind, however barbarously and tediously written; he has expounded each, and criticized each; jealous of everybody who may be toiling, however ineptly, in the same field, and pitifully in fear that, with some one else snatching the glory, his labor of many years will be lost. Do you prefer to call this madness or folly?” (Erasmus [1941], 72; trans. Hudson).

2. Petrarch summed up the debt of his times to Cicero: “O great father of Roman eloquence! I am not alone in offering you my gratitude; with me are all those who deck themselves with the flowers of Latin speech. We sprinkle our meadows with water from your fountains; you are our guide; it is you who sustain and enlighten us.” (*Le Familiari*, 24.4.4; as quoted in Seigel, 3).

3. For a better understanding of some of the complex business relationships among notable sixteenth-century printing firms, see Kingdon.

4. Scaliger thought otherwise. He criticized Aldus as “a poverty-stricken talent, slow in operation; his work is very commonplace; he aped his father” (“Aldus filius, miserum ingenium, lentum; quae dedit valde sunt vulgaria . . . patrem imitabatur” [Scaligerana, 254, as quoted in Renouard, 477]).

5. The title of this work announces that these letters were “tradotte di nuovo, et quasi in infiniti luoghi corrette da Aldo Manutio.”

6. The famous Marc-Antoine Muret expressed high hopes for the youngster in a letter written after visiting the Manutius family, “spero eum aliquando et patre et avo majorem et celebriorem futurum” (quoted in Renouard, 461).

NEW WORLD BOOKS

(pages 113–123)

1. Similarly, Francis Bacon in *Novum organum* states that “printing, gunpowder, and the compass . . . have changed the appearance and state of the whole world” (Aphorism 129; quoted in Eisenstein, 43).

2. Of this edition, Aldus wrote: “Non enim unius diei hic labor est noster, sed multorum annorum, atque interim nec mora nec requies.” (“Truly, our labor is not the work of one day, but of many years, with neither pause nor rest therein.”)

3. "... ab aliis populis, quos in oceano occidentali Hispani superioribus annis invenerunt."

4. "It must be confessed that if he derived his inspiration from the Muses, he was not indebted to them for much poetic spirit" (Bunbury, 482).

5. "Americae nuper clarescit nomine fama . . . quam vix Vesputius vix longa puppe Columbus reperit . . ." (leaf A8 recto).

6. "ut est humanus animus nouarum rerum appetit[us]."



Aldus Manutius, 1499 *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna. Leaf a6v.

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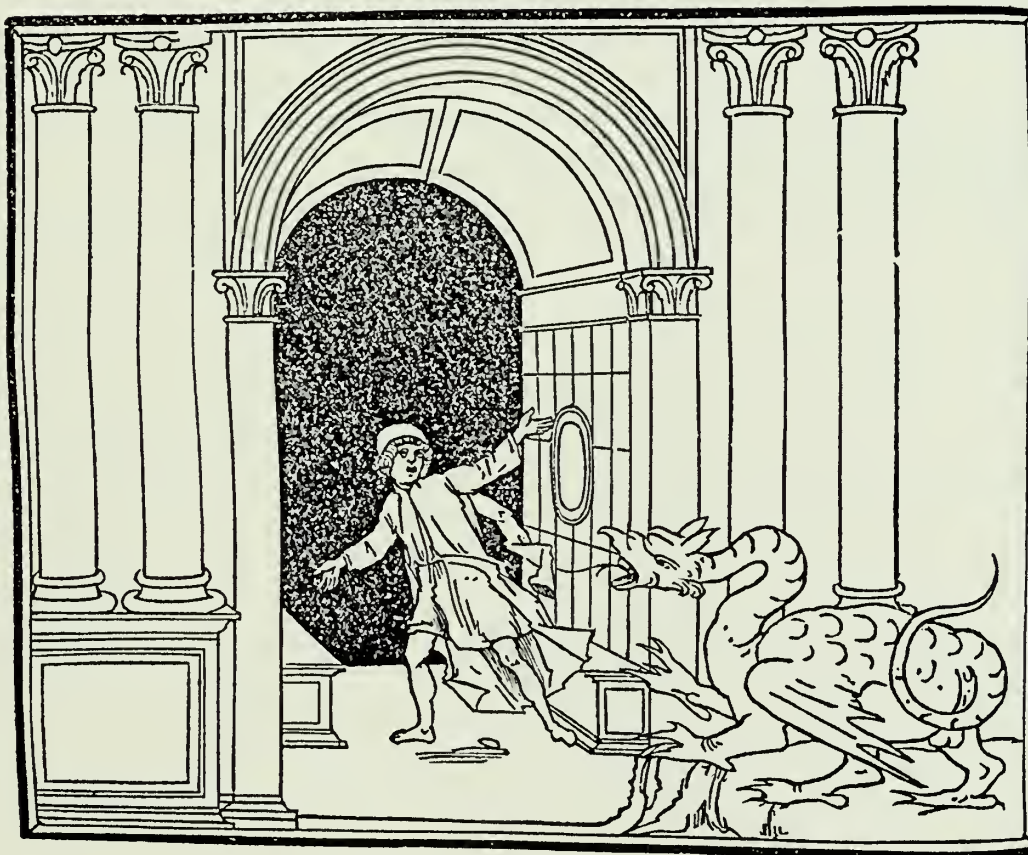
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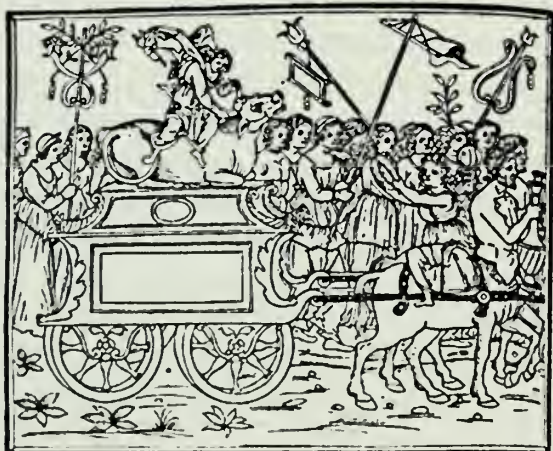
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Aldus Manutius, 1499 *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna. Leaf f5r.

COLOPHON

Charged with the responsibility for the design of a catalog on the Aldine Press, one identifies readily with the saying, 'ignorance is bliss.' To be familiar with the accomplishments of Aldus in the design of books is to be filled with a sense of inadequacy before the task of the design of a book in his memory. We wish to invoke the words of Gutenberg in the now famous colophon to the Catholicon of 1460, "With the help of Omnipotent God, at Whose very nod the tongue of infants are made eloquent, and who often reveals to the humble what He withholds from the wise. . ." and pray to be so blessed as to be counted among the young and the humble.

ROMAN TEXT was set in Aldine 401 which is the Bitstream, Inc. version of Bembo. Bembo was designed by Stanley Morison for the Monotype Corporation and was based on Francesco Griffo's typeface used in Pietro Bembo's *De Aetna* published by Aldus in 1495.

GREEK TEXT was set in Bosphoros designed by Allotype Typographics, which bears a general resemblance to the fourth Greek type of Aldus, based on his own hand.

DISPLAY TYPE was set in Venetian 301, Bitstream's version of Centaur, designed by Bruce Rogers and based on Nicolas Jenson's roman typeface, also of Venetian origin.

COMPUTER TYPESET was by Stephen J. Bons.

PHOTOGRAPHY of the illustrations was by Stephen J. Bons.

SCANNING of the photographs was by Borge B. Andersen & Associates, Salt Lake City.

COMPUTER PREPARATION of the illustrations was by Stephen J. Bons.

COVER DESIGN was by Dave Quarez and Robert J. Espinosa.

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LAUS TIBI DOMINE.

